THE RELIGION OF THE SCRIPTURES

CATHOLIC BIBLE COUNCIL, 1931.

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THE RELIGION OF THE SCRIPTURES

"Ignoratio Scripturarum ignoratio Christi est."

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THE RELIGION OF THE SCRIPTURES

Papers from the Catholic Bible Congress held at Cambridge, July 16—19, 1921

Edited by

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[*Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged.*]

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Northantoniae, die 10° *Septembris,* 1924

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

At the time when this preface must be written the Catholic Bible Congress at Cambridge is still in the future. Its essential character is that of a religious celebration in honour of the fifteenth centenary of St. Jerome, the great biblical doctor of the Latin rite, as St. John Chrysostom was that of the Greek; the former especially eminent in work upon the Old Testament, the latter in work upon the New, the former powerful in work as a pioneer of Western asceticism, the latter glorious for all time as the model of the Christian preacher. The present is a time especially opportune for honouring St. Jerome, seeing that his great work, the Latin Version of the Bible known as the Vulgate, is about to renew its youth, brought forth in primitive accuracy through the learned labours of Cardinal Gasquet and the Benedictine commission. The Vulgate, in origin and revision, will be one of the dominating thoughts of the Congress, and in this little book receives a full meed of praise from one competent to bestow it.

But a more profound purpose underlies the Congress. With Pope Leo XIII.'s issue of the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* in 1893 began a new era for Biblical studies in the Church, which from that time have made steady advance, ever deepening and widening their course. In the recent encyclical *Spiritus Paraclitus* the present Holy Father prays "for all the children of the Church, that penetrated and strengthened by the

sweetness of Holy Writ, they may attain to the surpassing knowledge of Jesus Christ." To help them in so holy a purpose is a further object of the Congress, and indeed, to contribute something to that "right interpretation, defence and pious meditation of Holy Scripture" for which the Holy Father desires supplication through St. Jerome to be made (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. XII., pp. 422, 440).

The mention of "defence" brings us to another aspect of the matter. The *Providentissimus Deus* is also a landmark in the progress of rationalism; it meant that the Holy See recognised that the absolute authority of the Written Word of God was no longer acknowledged by all who called themselves Christians. And this fact has a peculiar significance for our country, where there are many, it may be hoped, who have not lost their love for Holy Writ, and would gladly retain their faith in it. These, too, the Congress is designed in some measure to help, and of necessity the Congress papers also.

The central theme chosen for the lectures, and consequently for this book, has been the practical issue of Biblical religion. A preliminary explanation of the Catholic standpoint has been ably drawn up by two fathers of the Catholic Missionary Society. The religion of the Old Testament, and thereafter the religion of the New, is then set forth, both on the institutional side (the Law, the Church), and in its more personal appeal (the Prophets, Christ). The paper from Dr. Barry is of itself a pertinent reminder that St. Jerome in his scholarly and penitential life purposed to be, and in truth was, an exponent of Biblical religion to Western civilisation. "Ignorance of the Scriptures," he declares in the prologue to his commentary upon Isaiah, in words

that find applauding echo alike in the *Providentissimus Deus* and the *Spiritus Paraclitus*, "is ignorance of Christ." Finally, His Lordship the Bishop of Salford offers us a good illustration of the way in which even eminent scholars may pass from exact philology to somewhat reckless processes of "higher criticism." Such methods are so great a hindrance to solid and responsible Biblical study that His Lordship's remarks form an apt and welcome conclusion to this little book, a plea that Holy Scripture must be saved even from some would-be friends.

In dealing with such vast subjects, the writers of these papers have found themselves obliged to be content with the mere selection of what seemed most important and relevant. Here, too, it must be enough to indicate the most vital conclusion. In Holy Scripture we have documents pointing to a very high form of religious experience, and setting forth the conditions under which it was realised, at first in an imperfect form under the Old Covenant, and then in the developed universalism of the New. Three elements appear to dominate this experience, namely, *faith* as the root of the whole, *love* as the vital sap, the driving force, leading to entire self-surrender to a personal God, speaking of old through the prophets, and in the end through His Incarnate Son—and finally, *organic life,* without which religion lacks the unity and responsibility demanded alike by human nature and the Infinite Majesty of God. In place of this we find about us a blind groping after the truth, an intolerable disunion, a nervous fear to commit oneself, or even that desire to test results which inevitably

excludes from all that is noblest and best in religious experience.

Faith, intellectual affirmation, is in fact essential to the experience; any other assumption proves at long last to be fundamentally wrong. Even according to the modern gospel, the very experience should be its own guarantee, the surpassing quantity and quality of the religious experience engendered by fidelity to the principles outlined above. Nevertheless, one must be quit of ignorant prejudice, and the cant about "formalism," and the like, which sometimes blinds the eyes of the unwary. To see clearly and to understand will at least be an invitation to partake: to partake is to thirst for more: to drink deep is to know none other wine.

C. L.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE rapid sale of the first edition of a thousand copies is yet another welcome sign that the Catholic Bible Congress has in large measure fulfilled its purpose. This success it is only right to record, though it be but briefly. Whether from a religious and liturgical point of view, or by reason of the numbers and attention of those who assisted, or again in regard of the gracious welcome extended by Town and University, it was a wonderful fulfilment to an undertaking too novel to be altogether free from misgivings. From the present writer, as organizer of the lectures, are due hearty thanks to all the lecturers, and also to the executive committee, with whom he found it easy to work in perfect harmony. His Grace the present Archbishop of Liverpool, from whom came the first initiative, His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, His Grace the Archbishop of Birmingham, and the other Bishops of the Hierarchy, are evidently to be regarded as the founders rather than as the benefactors of the Congress; but their presence in strength made their support all the more powerful.

Shortly before the meeting of the Congress, and presumably by way of antidote, a pamphlet appeared in Cambridge, which has since passed into a second edition. In the discussion of one of the chief points—in a manner by far the chief point—the present writer felt himself called upon to take some part. This has resulted in a lengthy appendix to the second edition of the pamphlet;

a reply upon the main issue will be found in an Appendix to this volume. For a discussion of other issues raised, however, it may be well to refer to the *Tablet* for the present year (many numbers) and to the *Dublin Review* (January and September); also to articles by Fr. Thurston, S.J., in the *Month* for August, 1921 ("Bible Reading and Bible Prohibition") and in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. V., 1909: "England before the Reformation"). In the *Catholic Encyclopedia* Fr. Thurston notes that the view that the so-called Wycliffe Bible has no connexion with Wyclif, "cannot be said to have found general acceptance" (pp. 441-2). In the August *Month* he writes: "It is the general opinion of those who have paid most attention to this special branch of research—not only of Catholics like Janssen and Jostes, but also of such non-Catholic authorities as Walther, Gairdner and S. Berger—that the Church of the Middle Ages did not systematically keep the Bible out of the hands of the people or forbid vernacular renderings on principle" (p. 159).

A little after the Catholic Bible Congress, the "Modern Churchmen's Conference" was held at Cambridge, a grim set-off thereto, and to all that is written in the original preface to this work. The editorial preface to the Cambridge Conference Number of *The Modern Churchman* refers to "the note of affirmation which runs all through the Christological papers," and of the effort of the Conference leaders to be constructive. To most readers will be more painfully evident the absence of any clear assertion of the one great affirmation that matters, that Christ is truly God, as the Scriptures most certainly teach. Though, indeed, it is not difficult to see that God Himself is to be the next "problem" for

Christianity of this type. If, however, being such as He is, He has vouchsafed a revelation to man, then to grope about in the dark is not freedom, not even "genuine intellectual freedom," but blindness. In that flood of admirable light to live and love to the uttermost—such at least is the Religion of the Scriptures.

C. L.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

In this third edition of *The Religion of the Scriptures* an introduction has been added, indicating yet more clearly the precise significance of the title and subject. This should be borne in mind in the study of the lectures; Mgr. Barry speaks of St. Jerome's version itself as becoming "the religious code of the West" (p. 96), thus showing its great importance as in large measure the Bible of European religion, and indeed of the whole of the vast Latin rite of the Catholic Church. A select bibliography, however, has been added of more general scope, chiefly as a help to those following the correspondence school which has been established in connexion with the Cambridge Summer School of Catholic Studies, which was undertaken to continue upon a more modest scale the successful work of the Bible Congress. An index now concludes the volume.

While the third edition of this work was in the press, Bishop Casartelli departed this life. His readiness to help the Bible Congress and the book was only one example of the interest he was ever ready to take in scholarly enterprise, an interest whereof the present writer had more than one encouraging experience. To this aspect of his life and work it is becoming here to offer a brief tribute. May he rest in peace!

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INTRODUCTION :
THE RELIGION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

By the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J., M.A.

In the original preface to the first edition of this work it is said that "the central theme chosen for the lectures, and consequently for this book, has been the practical issue of Biblical religion." Now that an irrational sentimentalism is masquerading so successfully under the semblance of Christianity, luring men ever further and deeper into what is in reality paganism, it becomes all the more necessary to lay before them what is essential Christianity, not some special distillation of it devised by an illustrious professor at Berlin, but what nothing but a monstrous neglect of historical evidence in favour of subjective imaginings can deny to be inevitably deduced from the only available documents.

Accordingly it has seemed worth while, in this further edition of *The Religion of the Scriptures*, to press home somewhat more urgently the significance of the title. What is in truth "the Religion of the Scriptures"? What do we legitimately expect to find, if we examine the Scriptures themselves, and not our own private fancy or, as has been hinted above, somebody else's?

What is most fundamental is the idea of God Himself; fundamental indeed to any religion, but most of all to one claiming to represent a religion built upon such a lofty idea of God as we find in the Scriptures. Even

this doctrine, however, is far from safe at the present time, a fact already touched upon in the preface to the second edition. One sufficient indication of this is the difficulty felt by many outside the fold about miracles. And indeed, how can any doctrine, however fundamental, be safe, when the very idea of definite doctrine is itself repudiated? But such repudiation has no warrant in the Scriptures, nay, at many points, it is wholly opposed to them, as may be clear enough from this very preface.

Evidently the Divinity of Christ must come second in logical order to the very existence of God Himself; yet that too is beyond all question asserted in the New Testament. What is strongly and plainly set forth by St. John and St. Paul finds ample warrant in the gospels and other writings. This contention will doubtless be made good in the lectures and lecture-book upon the Incarnation, which is to be the subject of the next Summer School. That Christ is shown in Holy Writ to be truly present in the Holy Eucharist was made plain in the first edition of *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist*; that the Holy Eucharist can be proved from Holy Writ to be a sacrifice was briefly indicated in the second edition.

"If thou confess with thy mouth Jesus for Lord," says the Apostle," and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Romans x. 9, in the *Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures*). Thus he lays tremendous emphasis upon the necessity for salvation of faith in the Divinity and resurrection of Christ; that the former is here meant is beyond reasonable doubt, and it may be noted that the Semitic parallelism of "confessing with the mouth" and "believing in the heart" does not of course make for

any distinction in profession or belief of the two doctines. The gospels plainly contain Christ's prophecy and accomplishment of His own resurrection, and St. Paul, greatly concerned at finding doubts upon the subject of resurrection at Corinth, heaps up proof upon proof of Christ's resurrection from living witnesses in I Corinthians xv, and proceeds to explain that the body arises in a glorified state, an explanation which only the most perverse exegesis can expound as stultifying all that he has urged in what goes before.

No less obvious is it that the opening chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke assert the Virgin Birth as a historical fact. Nor is the honour which the Church pays to Our Lady a mere deduction from biblical premises, but the fulfilment of a prediction recorded in the Bible itself. "Behold, henceforth all generations shall call me blessed" (Luke i. 48): a marvellous prophecy, remaining such even were we to follow the most advanced of so-called "critics" ("criticism" from its etymology should signify a just estimate) as to the date of St. Luke's gospel: a prophecy fulfilled in every *Hail Mary*, but not in the devastations of Protestantism.

Of the Papacy there has been question in the Summer School book upon the subject. Much more might be said upon the same lines as those indicated above in regard of the Church, of poverty and virginity, of faith and works and justification, and of other subjects. But perhaps enough has been written to indicate the grave nature of the issue that lies before thinking men. The mills of God may take centuries, at all events in our slow-thinking land, to grind out the logic of historical fact, but they grind exceeding small. The crisis is too

serious to admit of any flippant desire for controversial success. "I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; choose therefore life" (Deuteronomy xxx. 19).

"You err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God" (Matthew xxii. 29). This might have seemed a bold sally against men who may have had much of the Scriptures at their fingers' ends; but in any case the emphasis was not upon ignorance of the letter, but upon ignorance of the spirit. They had a crabbed idea of God which totally unfitted them to be the interpreters of Holy Writ. And in like manner, to end where we began, a far more inadequate conception of God is the fundamental error in not a few to-day who are well versed in the sacred text. To explain the Scriptures when labouring under such an error inevitably means to misinterpret them. It is even to put out of court altogether the true Religion of the Scriptures.

I.

INSPIRATION.

By the Rev. J. P. Arendzen, D.D., M.A., and the Rev. R. Downey, D.D.

According to the Catholic Church the Bible is different from all other books in the world in that it is inspired. What does she mean by this word inspired? She does not mean it in an off-hand, general, vague sort of sense in which Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, or other great poets are said to be inspired, or as great reformers, politicians, lawyers may be inspired in expressing high ideals. The inspiration she predicates of the Bible is different not merely in degree but *in kind*, from that human enthusiasm for the beautiful, the noble, the good, which carries away poets and politicians in their speeches and books. The Catholic Church means something not merely human, but something in a unique sense divine.

Again she does not mean that the Bible is merely a record of an inspired nation or of the careers of inspired prophets, such as Moses, Isaias, or Amos. The Old Testament does indeed contain the record of a divine revelation, but such a record might well in itself be merely human, not divine.

She does not mean that the contents of the Bible are necessarily *revealed* by God, for obviously the Bible contains a great deal that is not revealed at all—long books full of historical records, in some cases laboriously

gathered from pre-existing works and writings, such as the Book of the Wars of the Lord, or the five books of Jason, of which II Maccabees is a resumé, or the sources which St. Luke diligently searched and often verbally copied into his gospel.

She does not mean that inspiration is necessarily a sort of conscious state of the writer when he penned his inspired book. Obviously in many cases the inspired writer did not know himself that he was inspired. Apparently St. Luke did not know, clearly the author of II Maccabees did not know, otherwise he would scarcely have asked the leniency of his readers for his literary shortcomings. Some authors may have known personally that they were inspired, but the Catholic Church has in no individual case decided whether they knew or not.

She does not mean that the Bible is merely guaranteed by God as being true and containing no error. Inerrancy is one thing, inspiration another. She believes the *ex cathedra* definition of Popes to be infallibly true, but she has never made the claim that they were inspired. It is infallibly true to say that there was a war between England and Germany from 1914 to 1918, but the statement could hardly be described as *inspired.*

She does not mean that the Bible in a supreme sort of way is devotional or stimulating to faith or piety, or that it is the highest expression of souls in mystic union of God. The *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis is much more devotional, sublime, and stimulating to piety than, say, the Book of Leviticus or Numbers or Ecclesiastes.

She does not mean by inspiration the drawing up of the catalogue or list of books, put by her in the Canon

of Scripture, or the Library of Sacred Books of Jewry and Christianity, as if her registration in the official religious library of Christianity or her official sanction and approval made these books inspired. She utterly repudiates such a notion. She cannot make a book inspired, though she believes herself empowered infallibly to decide that a book has been inspired by God.

She does not mean that the Sacred Books are inspired *because* they have been written by prophets or apostles. In many instances she does not know who wrote the books of the Old Testament—to suppose that prophets wrote them would be utterly gratuitous. Mark and Luke were not apostles; the end of Mark may be by a person totally unknown. She does not teach as of faith that St. Peter approved of St. Mark, or St. Paul of St. Luke, as if apostolic approbation were of the essence of inspiration. "Inspired" for her is far more than merely being backed by the authority of prophets or apostles.

She does not mean that the Old Testament is accounted inspired because it is the official sacred literature of the Jews as the people of God, or the New Testament because it contains the official record of earliest Christianity. But if she does not mean any of these things, what then does she mean?

She does not mean that at any time God whispered audibly, or within the mind of the human author miraculously created the mental pictures or phantasms of the words, and that the sacred writer had only to copy out what was given to him by the Deity. It is too obvious that these sacred writers kept their own style and mode of expression and remained in some sense "just themselves," though they were inspired.

Inspiration is some kind of unique relation in the order of efficient causality between God and the inspired book. Such inspiration is a supernatural fact, by its very nature known only to God and to whomsoever He pleases to reveal it. Hence the only judge whether a book is inspired or not is the Catholic Church. As is well known, she hands to her children as inspired the books of Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and the two books of the Maccabees, together with the last seven chapters of the book of Esther, and some chapters in the Book of Daniel. These writings are not accounted inspired by Protestants, and are styled by them Apocrypha. Yet they are attested as inspired by the same authority which attests the inspiration of the Gospels or the Epistles of St. Paul. If that authority erred in attesting the inspiration of Ecclesiasticus, it may have erred in attesting the inspiration of St. Mark, and the only ground on which our assent to the inspiration of any book in the Bible rests would be gone. Inspiration is a fact in itself not ascertainable by unaided human reason, and depending for its proclamation exclusively on revelation from God, who alone can attest that a certain writing stands in that unique relation to Himself.

God Himself is the author of the Book. The divine and the human author do not *share* the production of the book in the sense that one half of it is God's and the other half man's. It is totally God's and totally man's. God is the primary Author, using a free agent as His instrument. They are but instrumental causes in the hands of God.

Who these agents were, Moses, or Isaias, or Matthew, is a matter of indifference as regards the fact of

inspiration, and in consequence not necessarily confided to the teaching authority of the Church. In the case of some writings she clearly professes ignorance as to who the human authors were and lets her children freely dispute about the human authorship. In other cases where the authorship of a particular human being seems demanded, either by an apparently unbroken tradition, or by reason of the relation of the book to other Scripture texts, or because the question of authorship is bound up with the maintenance of certain revealed doctrines, she has gravely warned her children not too easily to set aside the commonly reputed author. She *could*, moreover, although she has never as yet done so, define infallibly the human authorship of certain books if she found this implied in the deposit of the Faith. Thus she might define the Davidic authorship of some Psalms, because of their being quoted as such by Christ, or the Mosaic authorship of some sections of the Pentateuch because it is implied in our Lord's reference to Moses as testifying to Him.

Now inspiration necessarily involves the absolute veracity of every statement of the Bible; for as God wrote it, and God cannot lie, the Bible cannot contain error of any kind. This complete inerrancy of Scripture does not, however, of necessity imply that every statement must be taken in a literal sense, and as true in that literal sense.

God speaks to men in a human way, and He speaks to them in a language representing a certain period of human progress. He uses language commonly used by the contemporaries of the human writer. The "sun rises and sets," the rain "comes down from heaven." Even in reference to historical matters He uses terms

and designations in currency at the time. If God referred to the battle between William and Harold in 1066, He might call it the "Battle of Hastings," because that is the only term now used to designate that particular conflict, though some people now try to show the inaccuracy of that local designation. The Bible, however, could not contain a definite assertion that a certain battle took place at a certain date and locality, if this were not really true. Any statement which is the direct assertion of a certain fact must be true, for God can neither deceive nor be deceived.

Furthermore, God can use any literary composition He chooses. God could inspire a novel if He so chose. Apparently He has not done so, but there is nothing in the doctrine of inspiration which would preclude the possibility. God can inspire poetry. The Book of Job is in metrical lines practically throughout. It is poetry, hence we are not bound to believe that Job sat on the dunghill and recited hundreds on hundreds of verses, and that his friends answered him in verse too. The Book of Job is inspired throughout, and is absolutely true throughout, but it must be understood as poetry is normally understood.

What, then, does inspiration really involve? Here we can only quote the passage of Leo XIII.'s *Providentissimus Deus*, issued in 1893, which has become classical in its precise exposition of the results of inspiration as far as we can understand it. Herein we learn that the Holy Ghost "by supernatural power so moved and impelled them [the sacred writers] to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down and finally expressed

in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise it could not be said that He was author of the entire Scripture."

If we analyse this classical passage we find first of all that it excludes the notion—already by implication condemned by the Vatican Council—that a writing could become inspired by any subsequent approbation, adoption or guarantee of infallibility by the Holy Ghost. The action of the Holy Ghost is antecedent and concomitant, but not subsequent to the composition of the book. It is an impulse and a movement, not a following sanction. Then we find that it describes the effect produced by divine action on the human faculties, that is to say: the intelligence, the will and the executive faculties. God first moved the will. The initiative comes from God. He set the human will in action by physical premotion. He moved the human writer spontaneously and freely to write the book which God willed to be written precisely as God willed it. How God can move the human will without forcing it we do not understand. It is not a question that need detain us here. The writer was often aware of this inspiration, oftentimes he was not. Then God illumines the mind so that the mind correctly conceives the book to be written. Not that God necessarily reveals anything, for everything contained in the book may already have been known, or laboriously gathered from other informants or books; not that God must needs throw words or sentences as it were from outside on to the screen of the mind, but God enlightens the mind and, supernaturally aiding the intellect, makes it conceive, judge, reason, as He wills, without necessarily adding to the objects of knowledge. Finally, God so guards

the executive faculties, hand, eye, ear, memory, that what the writer conceived and willed to write is written correctly.

In consequence, God is the primary author of the book when finished. True, the style of Isaias is not the style of Jeremias, just as a man writing with a quill produces other script than a man who writes with a steel nib. God used a living, free-will and an intelligent agent, and used them exactly as they were. He could have used other instruments, but He did not. He could have overridden imperfections of style, but He did not. He willed the book as it is. Hence, though we do not hold verbal inspiration in the sense that the words were directly supplied to the human author by God, nevertheless God is immediately responsible for, and acknowledges as His own, the whole of the Scriptures and every word of it, so that we cannot say either that now and then words or sentences slipped through which were uninspired and merely human, or that the words are human and only the underlying thoughts divine. The ultimate result of inspiration is the written book, not the internal thoughts of the writer. Least of all, of course, dare we say that the devotional or religious parts are God's and the matters pertaining to revelation or morality, but that the historical parts are only human. As God, then, is the author of the Bible, for the Catholic there never can be any question as to its truth, the only question is as to its meaning. In discussing this meaning Catholic scholars have in a few cases the infallible decision of the Church, which has settled definitely the meaning of a small number of texts. For the bulk, however, they are left to the resources of scholarship to infer the meaning from the context, from the inter-

pretation of antiquity, and from the light thrown upon them by history and science. Hence, Catholic Biblical scholars are untrammelled in their scientific research work with regard to the Bible. The decisions sometimes issued by lower—not infallible—tribunals of the Church on Biblical matters must, indeed, be received with internal as well as external reverence, but they aim at producing a much-needed and rational caution in treating such a sacred matter as the Written Word of God. Catholic scholars of whatever eminence realise that official, though not final, utterances of Church authorities, to whom the custody of the Bible is divinely committed, are at least more likely to be true than the findings of their own individual scholarship.

Catholics, then, in studying the Bible realise that they are face to face now with poetry, now with prose, now with primitive history but metaphorically told, now with history proper in its minute and modern sense, now with law, now with exhortation and prophecy; and all need their own rules of interpretation. Yet inspiration is not something which ebbs and flows, which is at its highest say in St. John or Isaias, at its lowest in Leviticus or Judges. It is as inspiration something absolute, a fact admitting no degrees. True St. John, when he wrote the Prologue to his Gospel, may have been favoured by divine revelation, whereas the author of II Maccabees was not. But revelation is not inspiration, and the Fourth Gospel and II Maccabees are equally inspired.

But you may ask what does inspiration in the case of II Maccabees really come to? It is only an abridgment of the five books of Jason. Were these books extant we might find the whole of the Bible book in

the larger uninspired work, with the exception perhaps of a sentence here and there.

To this we answer it was God who wrote II Maccabees, using the material of Jason's book, hence God reaffirmed his statements and made them His own by His selection and endorsement and embodiment in His book, thus becoming truly author of them as they stand in II Maccabees.

But again you may ask: may we not see in the Bible a great number of tacit quotations, passages which are just given for what they are worth, and therefore not adopted by the inspired writer as his own, and thus possibly containing more errors for which the human authors of the sources only are responsible? Cannot we say that Moses or Isaias or Ezra make a quotation while declining responsibility for its truth?

Speaking in the abstract, this is possible, and a small number of such quotations might possibly be found, but we are warned by the Church not to extend this "tacit quotation" theory beyond its true limits. Such quotations are only to be admitted on the gravest and clearest grounds, and in individual instances, for the wholesale application of this theory is utterly alien to the mind of the Church, and would completely eviscerate the Bible of its contents and make inspiration a phantom and a mockery. Would our concept of inspiration allow us to acknowledge that Biblical history was only history as it was understood in those days with all the latitude allowed to such primitive history? When, for instance, speeches are put on the lips of Peter and Paul in the *Acts of the Apostles*, may we regard them as we do the speeches put into the mouth of various worthies by Livy or Cæsar, which no one believes were actually

spoken, but just manufactured by the historian to express what one may well guess to have been the sentiments of the party concerned? Speaking purely in the abstract, this might have been conceivable, but it is not admissible in the concrete. With regard to the words put on the lips of Our Lord and His Apostles in the New Testament, the Church, which hands us the books as inspired, also hands them to us as historically correct in detail. What sort of a method a Matthew, a John, or a Luke pursued in their own historical books is as a matter of fact known within the Church on historic data. With regard to the words of the Saviour Himself mere common sense would suggest that unless they were truly His as they stand, and not merely the historian's idea of what the situation demanded, they would be valueless. Since, however, trifling variations occur in the same speeches as recorded by different evangelists, and since, as a matter of fact, these speeches of Our Lord are only given in a Greek translation, not in the Aramaic original, it is plain that inspiration did not supply as it were shorthand reports of the words as actually spoken, but as a veracious listener of truthful memory would correctly render a speech which he had heard. Mistakes in report would be irreconcilable with the veracity of the Primary Author, *i.e.* God; but imperfection, not implying falsehood, God might of course allow. For Catholics the speeches in the New Testament are recorded by the Holy Ghost Himself, for He is the Primary Author of the Sacred Books, hence inaccuracy, as far as it implies any element of untruth, is utterly excluded; but such imperfections and lack of completeness as may arise from the imperfection of the secondary or instrumental cause, *i.e.* the human author, may be admitted.

Hence, for instance, the omission of the Petrine text *Tu es Petrus*, etc., from St. Mark might conceivably be due to the fact that St. Mark did not know it. Personally, we do not think this opinion is historically tenable, but that is on account of historical convictions, not theological prepossessions. Any inference, however, that because the Petrine text occurs only in St. Matthew, it is somehow of less value or certainty, is against fundamental Catholic principle, for the complete weight of divine authority is at the back of every text in St. Matthew on account of its inspiration.

That St. Matthew or St. John should give us not strict history, but rather the "Christ of faith" at the end of the First Century, the Christ as conceived by the first Christian community, not as He was in historical fact, is formally excluded, not only by the literary form of the Gospels, which is evidently historical in the strict sense, and not imaginative, but is likewise directly excluded by the common teaching of the Church throughout the centuries, which gave these gospels to her children as in the strictest detail historical throughout. This common teaching or *magisterium quotidianum* is an undeniable historical fact and an infallible criterion of truth, just as much as the *magisterium solemne* exercised now and then by Pope or Council. Moreover, even if we could concede that St. Matthew or St. John gave us only the Christ as conceived at the end of the first century, this "Christ of faith" would still be identical with the Christ of history, not merely because it is historically untenable that the Christian community should have changed the character of its Founder during the lifetime of those who had intimately known the twelve Apostles and Paul, but because the teaching body of the Church

between 60 and 120 A.D. would on this supposition have erred. Such a supposition is destructive of the fundamental doctrine of Catholicity, which maintains that the Church is infallible every minute of her existence between Pentecost and the Second Coming of Christ.

More difficult is the question of the interpretation of the first ten chapters of Genesis—whether they may not contain history indeed, but metaphorically told. Here again the fact of inspiration by itself only guarantees that they cannot contain anything at variance with the veracity or dignity of God. For further study of their meaning it is necessary to appeal, not to inspiration, but to the interpretation to be gathered from the text itself and from the teaching of the Church. The Church decidedly rejects the idea of their being *sagas*, or myths, or legends, or merely moral truths, or merely ideas expressed in parables. The Church has ever maintained that they are historical, though real history may be metaphorically told. One could narrate the story of the Great War of 1914-1918 under the symbols of a struggle between the Lion, the Eagle, the Cock, the Bear and the Ewe Lamb, signifying Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Belgium. Yet such an account would be history, not legend—real history, but metaphorically told. Thus with regard to the creation of Man and the Fall, the Church teaches that these things are FACTS, not IDEAS clothed in story form; but she does not insist that the FACTS of God's immediate creation of Man, His secondary creation of woman, their being placed in a privileged supernatural condition, their temptation by an external Evil Agent, their fall, their punishment, may not have been clothed to some extent in symbolic phraseology. It is possible. It is not irreconcilable

with the idea of inspiration. Perhaps some reader may at this point exclaim: "Where is all this going to stop ? Once you begin to whittle down the literal meaning the whole historical edifice crumbles." But the Catholic has his immediate and ready answer: "It is going to stop the very instant the Church wants it to stop." Her decision is absolutely final. She possesses within herself the inexhaustible source of all the means to defend and to further the maintenance of God's revelation amongst her children, and should an answer to these questions ever become a real need of the faithful, she will answer them.

Meanwhile, it is not true to say that to allow the metaphorical meaning of some passages must mean the destruction of the whole edifice, for in his interpretation the Catholic scholar is continually guided by the conviction that no interpretation can be right which would reflect on the divine veracity or dignity of the Primary Author. We are interpreting a book written by God, and our interpretation is cautious and restrained, because the Catholic scholar realises that one day he shall stand before the judgment seat of that book's Author, and He may hold it a crime if with careless ease we have tinkered away at the book He wrote.

Moreover, Catholic scholars have not merely the bare text itself to go by. They have to consult the interpretation which, as a matter of fact, has been given by the Fathers of the Church before them. If the interpretations of these Fathers are given only as a matter of their own private speculation, they are not matter of faith, but only to be respected according to the weight and position of them as scholars and thinkers. But if such interpretations are given as merely handing down

the traditional meaning current in the Church, and if such traditional meaning is accepted as part of the revelation originally committed to the Church or as a necessary deduction therefrom, then such interpretation is infallibly true, and no scholar may set it aside.

Maybe no Pope or Council has ever made it a matter of solemn definition, none the less for those who realise that as a matter of fact such is the teaching of the Church, it constitutes an absolutely final authority, even before the rare solemnity of an anathema to its contradictors. Thus there is no likelihood of Catholic scholars rashly abandoning the Mosaic authorship of the bulk of the Pentateuch. First of all, they retain greater liberty in face of the formidable array of modern non-Catholic scholars, who proclaim as settled acquisition of modern learning the well-known J.E.D.P.H.R. division of the Hexateuch. Then, furthermore, the very importance of the matter involved and the (at least apparent) endorsement of Mosaic authorship by the Saviour and the very constancy of the tradition supporting it, all these things render Catholic scholars not less but rather more scientific in their treatment of that sacred text.

With the infallible authority of the Church behind them Catholic scholars possess a freedom and fearlessness of interpretation which none but they can fully have. Take, for instance, their study of the Six days of Creation. Some have maintained that these were long ages of evolution, others that they were days only seen in vision by Adam, for previous to man's creation there was no man to witness what happened, and God only could reveal, which He did under this symbolism; others saw in this chapter a Psalm in which with poetical imagery God's week's work was sung; others again saw in it a

counterblast to the worship of Sun and Moon and Tiu and Wodan and Thor and Freia and Satur, as later on they came to be called, the gods to whom the days of the week were dedicated, that the Jews might dedicate their week to the Creator and not to His creatures; others, again, a transformation of the oldest account of creation corrupted through superstitions and polytheism.

As with the days of Creation, so with the story of the Creation of Adam in the second chapter. If ever the theory of evolution should cease to be the mere theory it is now and be scientifically proven, no Catholic biblical scholar will claim that of itself the biblical account of man's creation makes an application of evolution to man's body impossible. The soul is the immediate creation of God, for the Church teaches so; the biblical account of the origin of man's body is certainly partially metaphorical, for God has no physical breath to breathe into the human form He made. How far the metaphor goes the Bible itself does not decide.

So likewise with the prodigiously long ages of the Patriarchs. Some fact—not merely a moral or philosophical idea—underlies them. Above all they are not merely childish folklore to fill up gaps of unknown history. But what that fact is the Church has never authoritatively settled. At present we seem to have lost the key to those enormous numbers, perhaps we are on the eve of rediscovering their meaning through the finding of the lists of the Babylonian or Sumerian antediluvian Patriarchs corresponding not in sound, but in meaning apparently to the biblical names. If once we could ascertain what they conveyed to Abraham and his tribe, who came from Ur in the Chaldees, we should have solved the riddle.

Thus Catholic scholarship will go on with utmost freedom, yet in utmost security, ever venturing farther out into the ocean because never severed from the Rock on which Christ built His Church, ever forward, yet in utmost safety, for the Infallible Interpreter of the Bible is always on the alert and living and teaching in the bark of Peter.

II.

THE MOSAIC LAW.

By the Rev. T. E. Bird, D.D.

A sure landmark in the history of Israel is the erection and dedication of Solomon's Temple. A sure landmark, for whereas the historical existence of things—such as the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle in the wilderness—and of personages—such as the Patriarchs and Aaron (in the so-called J. document)—has been questioned or denied by some modern writers, no one, as far as I am aware, has as yet disputed the historical fact that towards the close of the eleventh or the opening of the tenth century B.C. a Temple was built at Jerusalem. This event, therefore, serves as a landmark recognised by all.

Now the construction of this national Temple—for such it was, and not merely a local place of worship—was not an undertaking that aroused little attention. On the contrary, the whole nation was astir. The manhood of Israel was conscribed and sent in drafts of thousands—some to fell and prepare timber, others to hew out stone from the quarries, others to effect the transport. The expenses were enormous. There was a determination that this Temple of Yahwè should "show greatness exceedingly of fame and glory throughout all lands." (1 Par. xxii. 5).[1] If the figures in our present

[1] I and II *Paralipomenon* of the Vulgate and Douay Versions are named I and II *Chronicles* in the Anglican Versions. So our I and II *Kings* are I and II *Samuel* in the Authorized and Revised Versions.

text are original, a sum exceeding £1,000,000,000 was devoted to the enterprise. Seven and a half years of activity were spent before the day of Dedication came and presented a magnificent spectacle before the eyes of the worshippers.

But the Temple was not built simply for display. Its main purpose was otherwise. It was the House of God, the Sanctuary where worship, liturgy, and sacrifice were to be performed to the honour of the one God of Israel. Incidentally, it was not a Pantheon.

Now the features of the Temple reveal that its project was not an altogether new venture or creation, but that it was the result of a development. Withing the limits of this paper we can but touch a few of these features. We will notice, however, that the Temple was the *Beth Yahwè*—the House of the God of Israel; that it contained certain *furniture*; that it was served by an *organised priesthood*; that *sacrifices* were offered there.

All this indicates development. Thus Solomon's Temple was not the first Beth Yahwè. It took the place of the humbler Beth Yahwè on Sion where David worshipped (2 Kings xii. 20), which, in its turn, had superseded the Beth Yahwè at Shilo (1 Kings iii. 15, i. 7; Judges xviii. 31). Thus we are taken back to the time of the Conquest; and so are not surprised to find regulations concerning the Beth Yahwè in the earliest and latest parts of the Pentateuchal legislation (Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xxiii. 18). The conclusion seems to be that the founder of the Beth Yahwè was Moses, who, by tradition, was the Father of Israel's nationality, its Apostle, and its Lawgiver. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in plan the Beth Yahwe built by Solomon was a replica of the

Tabernacle, which, even before it was set up at Shilo (Jos. xviii. 1; 1 Kings ii. 22; the "mishkam" in 2 Kings vii. 6; Ps. lxxvii. 60), had served as the place for public worship in the centre of the camp when Israel was an army in the peninsula of Sinai.[1] (Exod. xxvi., xxvii., xxx., xxxi., xxxv.-xl.).

Among the furniture in Solomon's Temple were the ark of the Covenant, the "loaves of proposition," and the Altar of burnt-offering. None of these were really new. To discover their origins we have to examine the earlier history of Israel. The Ark has a prominent place in that history until we get back to the directions for its construction in the Mosaic Law. The "loaves of proposition" were in the Tabernacle during the reign of Saul. David came to Nob where there was a whole community of priests and a chief-priest serving the Tabernacle and observing liturgical regulations, and there he received the "loaves of proposition" as Our Lord recalled (1 Kings xxi., xxii; Matt. xii. 3, 4). If we look for the origin of these loaves and the Table on which whey were kept we find it in the Mosaic Law (Exod. xxv. 23-30, xxxv. 13, xxxix. 35, etc.). The Altar of burnt-offering in Solomon's Temple was of brass (3 Kings viii. 64; 2 Par. vii. 7). It was not the first of its kind. It took the place of the horned altar at which both Adonias and Joab sought asylum (3 Kings i. 50, ii. 28). Again we are taken back to the Law of Moses; for there is the first appearance of an altar of burnt-offering—made from the acacia wood so common in the Sinai peninsula,

[1] This Tabernacle or sacred Tent is not to be confused with the Tent which Moses "used to take and pitch *for himself* outside the camp," and which had Josue for its attendant (Exod. xxxiii. 7-11). This latter tent was Moses' own private oratory, where also he heard cases of dispute.

and overlaid with brass, and with horns at its corners (Exod. xxvii., xxxviii.).

An organised priesthood served the Temple of Solomon. If the Hebrew text is reliable in 3 Kings viii. 4, both priests and Levites took part in the Dedication ceremony, as is stated also in 2 Par. v. Now no one supposes that Solomon founded the Hebrew priesthood. During his father David's reign Sadoc and Abiathar are priests; and "all the Levites" are mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 24. Above we referred to the community of priests at Nob during the days of Saul. Earlier still the Levites are seen attending the Ark (1 Kings vi. 15); and a priesthood was officiating at Shilo before the birth of Samuel (1 Kings i.). At that time the priesthood was corrupt. Now a priesthood is not corrupted in its infancy. When, then, was the Hebrew priesthood instituted ? In Patriarchal times it did not exist; at the time of the Judges it had lost its sense of responsibility. There seems but one solution—the Hebrew priesthood was established by Moses. That is also the answer from the records and tradition. Those that reject it naturally find, with M. Loisy, that "the origins of the Levitical priesthood are not wanting in obscurity."[1]

Finally, what were the sacrifices offered in Solomon's Temple ? Now instead of answering this question from the sacred records—for the critical school labels "interpolation," "addition," "redaction," "gloss," passages therein that do not fit hypotheses—we will answer it from an extraneous source. The Elephantine Papyri, brought to light 1898-1908, have shown that a Jewish colony in Egypt had built there before 525 B.C. a Temple

[1] *Religion of Israel*, Eng. trans., p. 124.

for the worship of Yahwè (Yaho). This Temple was evidently built in order that the cult practised at the Temple of Solomon might be reproduced in the Jewish colony. How long these Jews had settled in Egypt before they began to build their Temple cannot be determined exactly; but we are safe in saying that the colony already existed in 586 B.C. The sacrificial worship, them, established at Elephantine would be modelled on that which the first colonists had witnessed at the Temple of Solomon before their emigration. What, then, was the sacrificial worship at Elephantine ? It was that of the Mosaic Law—and that part of the Law to which criticism has given the name of "Priests' Code." There is not space here to illustrate this point, but neither is there need to do so, since the fact has been demonstrated sufficiently by Canon A. van Hoonacker, of the University of Louvain.[1]

Just, then, as all roads lead to Rome, so all things connected with Solomon's Temple point back to the Mosaic Law. Take away the Law, and the *raison d'être* of these institutions is lost.

But this is where the difficulty arises, for modern criticism *does* take away the Law. It teaches that when the great Temple was dedicated with glory and solemnity, what certainly did not then exist, what those priests did not yet possess, were the sacred rolls of the Mosaic Law. Briefly, the Pentateuch was not yet written. The portion of the Law that treats of what we have considered above—Tabernacle, Ark, Loaves of Proposition, Altar of burnt-offering, priesthood, sacrificial worship such as at Elephantine—and much more besides, was not composed until some four or five centuries after the

[1] *Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne.* Schweich Lectures, 1914.

Dedication of Solomon's Temple. Its author was a priest (or priests), who wrote at the close of or after the Babylonian Exile. Much that he describes is the product of religious idealism that developed during that Exile, and never had real existence. Thus the elaborate Tabernacle in the midst of the camp is the creation of imagination: the description of the making of the Ark at least is invention : the Aaronic hierachy was first conceived at Babylon—before the Exile it never existed: the liturgy attributed to Moses was really composed for the Second Temple—and so on.

Now the fundamental difference between the critical and traditional schools seems to be on the question of development. If with the critics one supposes that Israel coming out of Egypt was an illiterate horde with primitive and savage ideas, it will follow that the Mosaic Law must have been written centuries after the Exodus. But all turns on whether this supposition is correct. It seems to be far from the truth. The facts are as follows:—The rock out of which Israel was hewn was Babylon. From there came Abram, the ancestor of the Tribes. At that time the Babylonians were far from being a primitive people; on the contrary, their civilisation was much developed. It was the age when the code of Hammurabi (to which the earlier part of the Mosaic legislation bears striking resemblance) was promulgated. Now the grandson of Abram and his sons eventually settled in Egypt. There they mixed, not with a primitive tribe, but with a people highly educated. For some years the Hebrews were a privileged class in this civilisation. True it is that, later, fortune turned against them, and they were employed as slaves ; but this could not reduce them to primitive status. Round

them in Egypt they saw an elaborate religion with an organised and hereditary priesthood and sacred books; they would notice the regulations connected with this priesthood—linen garments, abstinence from wine, shaving of the hair (cp. Exod. xxviii. 39-42; Lev. x. 9; Num. viii. 7, etc.), etc.; they could learn the weaving of fine cloths and the making of dyes; on every side they saw the lavish use of gold.[1] The ritual could not fail to strike them because of its prominence. No wonder that "the method of killing and offering animals, the burning of incense (upon bronze censers of ladle form), the ablutions, *and many other ritualistic details* (among the Egyptians) were similar to those practised among the Israelites" (W. Max Müller in *Encycl. Biblica*, col. 1219. Italics mine). Now to all this must be added the education of Moses in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. This would include a knowledge of Babylonian. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show that cuneiform was learnt by Egyptian scribes before the Exodus. Philo tells us that Moses studied the learning of the Assyrians and the Babylonians. Nothing is more likely than that a man of Babylonian stock should study the culture of his race when opportunity was given. We may include in Moses' education a knowledge of the legal systems of Babylonia and Egypt. In the latter country even from 2000 B.C. there existed the institution of a jury appointed from among the priests and officers to sit in judgment daily.

All this goes to prove that at the time of the Exodus the Israelites were not barbarians, but had reached a

[1] Rameses II. received from his mines gold and silver annually to the value of £80,000,000. One of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (No. 8) gives a letter wherein it is said that in Egypt (circa. 1500 B.C.) "gold is as common as dust."

high stage of development. It also becomes *a priori* highly improbable that when he became leader of his nation, Moses did not draw up laws founded on Babylonian and Egyptian models.

There is something more. The legal portions of the Pentateuch are—as we should expect—stamped indelibly with the impression of the desert. Often they treat of the "camp" or "tents." The Ark and Tabernacle form a portable, not a fixed sanctuary. The office of Levite is especially with regard to the transport of the sacred furniture. Further, it is this "Priests' Code" that promulgates regulations for the sanitation of the army on the march (Lev. i. 16, iv. 12, xi. 32, 33, 39, xiii. 46; Num. xix. 14, 15, xxxi. 19, etc.). It becomes almost impossible even to imagine that a priest in the seclusion of exile should have made these enactments. It is almost as difficult to suppose that the leader of the army in the peninsula of Sinai did not make so necessary regulations. I know that, especially since the discovery of the Elephantine Papyri, it is becoming the fashion to say that the Priests' Code may contain some traditional matter. But if concession along this line is to continue, the Development or Evolutionary Hypothesis will soon lose its meaning.

There are other parts of the Priests' Code which seem to defy an Exilic or post-Exilic date, *e.g.* the catalogues of names (Gen. xlvi., Exod. vi., Num. ii.), the details connected with the Manna (Exod. xvi. 14), or the second pasch (Num. ix. 6), or the case of the daughters of Salphaad (Num. xxvii., xxxvi.). This last supposes a differentiation of the twelve tribes. Where was this after the Exile ?

Space forbids us further consideration of the "Priests'

Code." Grant its critical date, and besides other inconveniences, the institutional religion of Israel seems to be without basis and inexplicable. Its traditional date explains these institutions, explains Solomon's Temple and the cult at Elephantine, explains its Babylonian-Egyptian elements. Further, this traditional date sweeps away a whole army of redactors who otherwise invade the Old Testament, heals numerous passages mutilated by criticism, restores some of the Psalms to their normal pre-exilic position, makes no demand for mental strain in the interpretation of such passages as, for example, Amos iv. 4, 5; v. 21-23, and finally places Deuteronomy—which in parts supposes the so-called P—in its natural position.

Concerning the date of Deuteronomy, or the so-called D, we will say a word later. Here a passing reference may be made to two other documents demanded by modern criticism—the so-called J and E. Which of these has priority, and when exactly they were written, are questions which are not answered with unanimity. The *terminus ad quem* is generally c. 750 B.C., and the *terminus a quo* is later than the building of Solomon's Temple.[1] The chief criterium for distinguishing between the two documents is the use of the divine Names. J employs the Name *Yahwè* (or Jahwè)—hence he is the Jehovist writer; E uses 'Elohim—hence he is the Elohist. Now take away this criterium and I venture to say that scholars, as *e.g.* the late Professor Driver, would not cling with any tenacity to the separation of these two documents; for the other criteria are too weak and subjective to endure alone. Can, therefore, the criterium

[1] Recently, however, König has brought E into the time of the Judges.

of divine Names be allowed to stand ? It cannot. An examination of other parts of the Old Testament, especially the Psalter, shows that the distribution of these Names is editorial—not original This is very clear in the case of the duplicate psalms. Thus Pss. xiii. (14), lii. (53) had one author, but two editors; and the second editor changed the divine Name throughout the Psalm. Professor Driver states: "For such a variation (of divine Name in Genesis) no plausible explanation can be assigned except diversity of authorship."[1] But if this reasoning was correct it would follow *a pari* that Pss. xiii., lii. had two *authors*—which no one can admit. Notice, also, how the Name Yahwè is excluded from the speech of the unworthy. Thus in Ps. iii. Yahwè occurs throughout,[2] except on the lip of the Psalmist's wicked enemies (v. 2). We see the same exclusion in the conversation between Joseph while in disguise and his brethren, and in the speech of the Egyptians (Gen. xl.-xliv.). But the most interesting example is in Gen. iii. In the conversation between Eve and the Serpent only the one name 'Elohim is used ; yet in the whole context we have a combination, Yahwè-'Elohim. Now one of the Names in this combination is an addition of an editor, as critics rightly declare. Which is the addition? Evidently "Yahwè" —which the editor refrained from putting in the conversation (Gen. iii. 2-7). Indeed, it would seem that this editorial manipulation of the Names was not completed before the Septuagint was written. At any rate the Septuagintal text has often the one Name 'Elohim,

[1] Introd. to *Literature of Old Testament*, edit. 9, p. 13.

[2] In v. 7 Elohim is employed to make parallelism, and it is with a suffix.

where the Massoretic text has the combination. Thus internal and external evidence points to "Yahwè" as an addition in the early chapters of Genesis. Yet the critics insist in retaining this name as original, and rejecting 'Elohim. The only possible explanation for their obstinacy on this point would seem to be prejudice in favour of Astruc's "clue," which was adopted by the "pioneers of criticism." In brief, however, the distribution of the names is editorial—Rabbinical, if you wish—but not original. It is time we heard no more of "Jehovist" and "Elohist."

From all this it does not follow that the Pentateuch is altogether the work of Moses, much less that the whole Law was published in one day. On the contrary, at least six sets of laws can be found in the legislation which extended through the life-time of Moses. Outside the legal sections other documents can be recognised. Thus not much scholarship is required to detect that the hand that wrote the Prologue to Genesis (i.-ii. 3) is the hand of the jurist who wrote the Pentateuchal law. After the Prologue the author begins his chapter I. with a document distinctly Babylonian, and not in his style, Who wrote this Babylonian document (Gen. ii. 4-iii.) ? In Gen. xiii. 10 some one describes the Jordan basin known as the *Kikkar* before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha; it was "watered throughout like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt as one comes to Soar." This writer knew the description of the Garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 10-14); he knew also the *Kikkar* before the catastrophe there; and he had been down to Egypt. It would seem that this person was no other than the Babylonian Abram. To him we would attribute Gen. ii. 4-iii., and much of the matter contained

in the so-called J and E sections in the first half of Genesis.

Perhaps enough has now been said to show how wisely the Church acted, when through the Biblical Commission (27th June, 1906) she warned her children that the critical arguments for a post-Mosaic date of the Pentateuch did not outweigh the traditional teaching.[1]

Before we consider the teaching of the Law, a word may be said concerning its operation after the Conquest. Students sometimes feel a difficulty in the fact that the history of Israel after the settlement in Chanaan is not as coloured by the Mosaic Law as one would expect. We will therefore enumerate some of the circumstances that told against the operation of the Law.

The first blow was the collapse of the central authority. Even when Israel was a unit in the peninsula of Sinai, and under the control of an efficient leader, there were repeated relapses from the standard of the Law ; but when that leader was dead and the unit split up—each tribe fighting for its separate settlement—then that happened which has so often happened in history when there has been a break from central authority—the operation of the law weakened. So the period of the "Judges" is well summed up by the remark of its

[1] The replies of the Biblical Commission are not acts of the Sovereign Pontiff, it is true. They are approved not "*in forma specifica*" but "*in forma communi.*" They remain, therefore, acts of the Commission. Nevertheless, they call for loyal reception under penalty of disobedience, and the note of temerity ("Praestantia Scripturae," 18th Nov., 1907). The history of the Biblical criticism of the last thirty years now shows that much of the "progress of modern thought" ended in blind alleys. Unfortunately, often before the cul-de-sac has come in sight, cast-off remnants of belief have been strewn on the road. The lessons from the past call for a disposition in Biblical study "*sentiendi* cum Ecclesia."

historian: "In those days there was not a king in Israel: each man did what was right in his own eyes." (xvii. 6, cp. xviii. 31). When at last some authority was re-established we find a return to order and the project of the Temple. Unfortunately, however, it was not long before the question of Church and State arose. Solomon began his reign with an attack on the priesthood (3 Kings ii. 26, *seq.*), and he closed it as supreme head on earth of the religion of Israel. For the future in Juda up to the time of the Exile, the execution of the Law was at the whim of the reigning monarch. And, unfortunately, most of the kings preferred pagan licentiousness to Mosaic severity. In Israel, after the schism, solely for a political reason, viz., to prevent reunion of north and south, Jeroboam forbad his subjects to go to the central sanctuary; set up golden calves for adoration and sacrifice; instituted a priesthood unconnected with the sons of Levi; established festivals distinct from those in Juda, and had his own altar of incense (3 Kings xii. 25-33). On the other hand virtuous kings like Josaphat, Ezechias, and Josias made attempts to restore the Law of Moses. And here we may say our promised word on the so-called D document. The first draft, or kernel of the book of Deuteronomy, was, say the critics, the book of the Law discovered during the repairs of the Temple in 621 B.C. (4 Kings xxii.; 2 Par. xxxiv.). But this book had no connection with Moses; in fact it was written shortly before its "discovery." Why this? Briefly, because the regulations of D were unknown before the time of Josias, and his reformation first introduced them. Now is this true? Josias himself says that the regulations were known to "our fathers," but were not enforced. Now, leaving aside the much

abused Chronicler, let us look at the reformation in 4 Kings xxiii. We read that Josias destroyed the vessels used in idolatrous worship, abolished the high-places and the burning of incense there, ground to powder the Ashera, broke down the obelisks, etc. Now if we go back a hundred years we find that Ezechias also reformed religion. He abolished the high-places, broke down the obelisks, cut down the Ashera, and stopped the idolatrous burning of incense. In other words, "he kept the commandments which Yahwè had commanded Moses" (4 Kings xviii. 4, 7). Surely if Josias' reformation was based on Deuteronomy, so was that of Ezechias.[1]

To return. The chief obstacle against the operation of the Mosaic Law was the disappearance, for some two centuries, of central authority ; which, when restored, was religious or irreligious according to the personal character of the ruler of the State.

The second adverse circumstance was the *milieu* in which the separated tribes found themselves after the Conquest. No longer were they nomads, but dwellers in walled cities. About them stood pagan altars associated

[1] Hence this reformation under Ezechias is a sore point with the supporters of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, and leads them into statements that make bad criticism. Thus the Rev. F. H. Woods in his article on "Hexateuch" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (II. 368), tries to evade the difficulty by the remark: "It is clear that the attempt of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii.4, to put down high-places was only partial or tentative." But this is by no means clear, in fact the text, read with the address of Rabsaces, 4 Kings xviii. 22, and the statement that Manasses "built again the high-places which Ezechias his father had destroyed," 4 Kings xxi. 3, rather indicates that the reverse is "clear." To an evasion of this kind we prefer the bold declaration of critics like Cheyne and Moore, who "cannot venture to take 4 Kings xviii. 4 as strictly historical." (See *e.g. Enc. Biblica, col.* 2058, 2068.) But of course, this is not the genuine historical method.

with attractive immorality. Moses had foreseen this, and, that monotheism might be preserved, had commanded the extermination of the Chanaanite tribes: "lest they teach you to do all the abominations which they have done to their gods, and you should sin against Yahwè your God" (Deut. xx. 18). But this extermination was not so easy as might have been thought, and, as the history records, the injunction full often became a dead letter (Josue xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 13, etc.). It was not long, therefore, before Mosaic ordinances were unpopular, and idolatrous cult in vogue.[1] A third extrinsic cause that told against the operation of the Law was human nature. It is hard enough for many persons nowadays to keep the ten commandments; it was harder for Israel to observe not only the Decalogue but much more besides in the polytheistic world of that time. Critical arguments are often made from the non-observance of the Law in the post-Conquest history to its non-existence at the time of Moses. This is as precarious as the *argumentum e silentio*. A study of Canon Law makes one cautious on this line of argument.[2]

[1] So the Psalmist sings sorrowfully:—

"And he brought them to His holy border;
A mountain-land, that His right hand had acquired,
And he drove out nations before them.

But they tempted, yea, they provoked God Most High;
And kept not His testimonies;
But turned back, and were faithless like their fathers:
They recoiled like a treacherous bow.
And they roused Him to anger by their high-places
And provoked His jealousy by their images."

Ps. lxxvii. 54-58.

[2] One quarter of the Codex Juris Canonici is concerned *de Processibus*—a branch of Canon Law up to the present almost unknown among Catholics in some English-speaking countries.

Finally, there were intrinsic difficulties. Many of the statutes dealt with camp or nomadic life, and became unreal once the wandering came to an end. Some of the enactments had been revised or modified, and existed in more than one form in the Tora. The slave-laws in part had regarded Hebrews serving for debt; after the Conquest Chanaanite slaves took their place. The porterage of the sacred furniture was no longer required ; and the Levites found themselves without a well-defined status. These were only some of the intrinsic difficulties.

Yet in spite of all obstacles the Law was not altogether forgotten. Apart from relapses, the religion of the Hebrews between the conquest and the Exile was not the religion of the Patriarchs (cp. Deut. v. 3); it was not the religion of Egypt ; it was not the religion of the Chanaanites; it was the religion of the Mosaic Law—especially that of the so-called "Priests' Code." If the operation was weak, there were exceptional circumstances to make it so ; and its subjects were those to whom Our Lord had to say: "Did not Moses give you the Law ? And yet none of you keep the Law" (John vii. 19).

We come now to the last part of this paper—the Religion of the Law. Space allows a consideration only of its salient features; the most outstanding of which was sublime monotheism.

Above all the corruption of a world sunk into idolatry, there sounded forth from Israel: *Credo in unum Deum.* "Hear, O Israel : the Lord our God is One God" (Deut. vi. 4). And this creed was from the first guarded by the death penalty: "He that sacrificeth to any god, save the Lord only, shall be 'devoted'" (Exod. xxii. 20).

It was this belief that again and again saved Israel during the course of her backsliding progress, which is spoken of as "evolution."

And the Credo continued: *Patrem Omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium et invisibilium.* Because He was the Creator of everything, everything belonged to Him—the fruits of the earth, of the flocks and herds nay, even man. "They are all Mine" summed it up (Exod. xiii. 2). And man should recognise that they all were His. How could this be shown ? By offering to Him the first-fruits of the ground, the first-born of beast and of men. But the first male could be bought back or redeemed. How ? By the offering of a substitute or victim. Offerings to God were "sacrifices," which, when performed as public acts, demanded ritual, liturgy, and a priesthood. Even one day of the week belonged especially and was consecrated to Him.[1] One day in the year was to be a Fast-day that the soul that had sinned against Him might be "afflicted" and "cleansed from sins" (Lev. xvi. 29-31, xxiii. 27-32 ; Num. xxix. 7). What we should call "Holidays of Obligation" were also commanded. These were especially in connection with the three great annual Festivals, to which all male Israelites were summoned, First-fruits, Tabernacles, and Passover. To the last mentioned was united the observance of Unleavened Bread.[2] This Feast was first instituted as a domestic celebration (Exod. xii.), but in the legislation that considered the

[1] To impress the Sabbath institution on the minds of the Israelites, the work of Creation was represented in an artificial framework of a week—the seventh day of which was sanctified (Gen. i-ii. 3; Exod. xx. 9-11; xxiii. 12; xxxi. 12-17; Deut. v. 12-15).

[2] Exod. xii; xiii. 3-10; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Lev. xxiii. 4-14; Num. ix. 1-14; xxviii. 16-25.

settlement in Chanaan it was forbidden to be celebrated except "at the place which Yahwè shall choose" (Deut. xvi. 1-8). Hence the abuse prevalent among the priests of the high-places, and the reform by Josias (4 Kings xxiii. 9, 21-23). Hence also the disfavour of Jerusalem towards Elephantine—for there, on pagan soil, was celebrated the Passover (Sachau, p. 36).

But besides its Dogma and Liturgy, the Law had its moral theology. God was to be served and feared—not with dread, but with reverence and love. In the earliest teaching (Exod. xx. 6) He is represented as "showing mercy . . . to them that love Me and keep My commandments"; and in the final legislation is the precept: "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength."[1] After this follows the command in Lev. xix. 18: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Thus the two greatest precepts of both Old and New Testament are written in the Law. There we first find the *vinculum perfectionis*. Nay, there was the further command that one must do good to one's private enemies, and seek no revenge (Exod. xxiii. 4, 5; Lev. xix. 17, 18). Finally there was the Decalogue, which, in spite of all the supposed evolution of the human mind, remains even to this day the basis of morality, and challenges any substitute.

But Israel was not solely a religious community; it was also a civil society. Its political nature, however, was peculiar, for it was a Theocracy. Hence not only its religious, but also its civil enactments were referred to God. Distinct therefore from its religious teaching was its penal legislation dealing with human nature offending

[1] See also Deut. xi. 13; x. 12, etc.

against civil law and order. Hence the so-called *lex talionis* (Exod. xxi. 24 ; Lev. xxiv. 20 ; Deut. xix. 21) which remained a theocratic law, until Christ said : "My kingdom is not of this world." This civil law also protected the rights of private ownership ; but not in the sense that some modern economists understand proprietorship (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25). Unlike the Babylonian criminal code, there was in the Mosaic legislation but one law for both rich and poor alike.

So much by way of summary. There is, however, one other enactment in Hebrew Law which does not seem to have been given the attention it deserves. We refer to the *Blood Prohibition*. A short consideration of it will close our paper. We all know that the pious Jew to-day will eat only *kosher* meat—meat from which the blood has been completely drained. In other words it is forbidden to "eat blood." There was trouble in the early Church with the Jewish converts over this matter (cp. Acts xv. 20). Back in the time of Saul, the people "sinned against the Lord" in that they ate the blood of beasts after the defeat of the Philistines (1 Kings xiv. 32-34).

We cannot here inquire into the full reason of this prohibition. Originally it seems to have been directed against manslaughter. Adam's first-born was a murderer, and he was cursed. The few survivors from the Flood, who were to re-people the earth, were blessed ; but at the same time the prohibition was formulated :—

"Flesh with (its soul—) its blood, you shall not eat,[1]
And indeed, I will require your blood of your souls:

[1] The words in brackets are not in the Vulgate, and the text makes simpler reading without them. The Hebrew word may be an explanatory gloss. However, the Vulgate alone omits.

From the hand of every beast will I require it,[1]
And from the hand of man.
From the hand of each man's brother
I will require the soul of man.
Whosoever shall shed man's blood
By man his blood shall be shed :
For in the image of God, I made (LXX) man."

Gen. ix. 4-6.

With the blood was associated the life (or soul). As a man lost blood, so his life oozed out. But as the life—even of a beast—belonged to God, so the blood of every animal slaughtered, whether in sacrifice or not, was to be poured out. Hence the law (Lev. vii. 26, 27) :—

"*You shall eat no blood whatsoever*—
Any soul that eateth any blood, that soul shall be cut off from the people."

But later the people offered idolatrous sacrifices and disregarded the blood prohibition. This led to the stringent law (Lev. xvii, 3 seqq.) :—

"Any man whosoever of the house of Israel that killeth an ox, or a lamb, or a goat, in the camp, or without the camp, and bringeth it not unto the door of the Tent—*shall be guilty of blood.* He hath shed blood : and that man shall be cut off from the midst of the people—And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar—And they shall no more sacrifice their victims to demons, with whom they have committed fornication—If any man whosoever of the house of Israel or of the strangers that sojourn among them eat any blood, *I will set my face against that soul that eateth blood,* and will cut him off from the midst of the

[1] Cp. Exodus. xxi 28.

people. For the soul of the flesh is in the blood ; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the soul. Therefore—*no soul of you shall eat blood* ; and the stranger that sojourneth among you *shall not eat blood.* If any man whosoever taketh any beast or fowl that may be eaten, he shall let him pour out its blood, and cover it with dust," etc.[1]

The law, therefore, enacted that all slaughter—except that occasioned by hunting or fowling—should be done at the central sanctuary. But this would be impossible when the tribes were settled in Chanaan. Foreseeing the difficulty Moses allows the slaughter of animals in any town ; but the blood prohibition is again insisted upon. Deut. xii. gives this final legislation :—

"These are the statutes and the judgments which you shall observe to do in the land.—Unto the place which Yahwè your God shall choose—thou shalt come; and thither shall you bring your burnt-offerings and your sacrifices—Beware lest thou offer thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest—Nevertheless at any inclination of thine appetite thou mayest kill, and eat flesh (according to the blessing of Yahwè thy God which he hath given thee) within all thy gates.—*Only you shall not eat the blood*: thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water—*Only be firm not to eat the blood* : for the blood is the soul ; and thou mayest not eat the soul with the flesh. *Thou shalt not eat it* : thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water. *Thou shalt not eat it,* that it may be well

[1] See also Lev. xix. 26.

with thee—The blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of Yahwè thy God ; and the flesh thou shalt eat."[1]

Again the law is insisted upon (Deut. xv. 23):—

"*Only thou shalt not eat its blood*: thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water."

Because the soul was connected with the blood, the blood was not to be eaten. But for the same reason blood could expiate from sin.[2] For sin a man deserved death. To atone he ought to give his life. But as this was not allowed, he gave instead a "victim"—a substitute for his life, viz., the life, *i.e.*, the blood of an animal.

The importance of the teaching of the Law on Blood can hardly be exaggerated; for it is here precisely where the New Law brought the Old to fulfilment. Christ becoming "sin for us" made atonement by giving His life in bloody sacrifice on the Cross. Indeed, without this shedding of blood the expiation would not have been obtained (2 Cor. v. 15-21; Heb. ix. 22). But once this Sacrifice was made on Calvary, the sacrifices of the Old Law—"shadows of the good things to come" –ceased to have effect (Heb. x. 1-20).

[1] The critics, of course, date Deut. xii. *before* Lev. xvii. (mainly H), and in both chapters they see propaganda for the centralization of the place of sacrifice, *i.e.* the abolition of "high-places" and the recognition of the Temple at Jerusalem as the one Sanctuary. But—especially in the case of Lev. xvii.—Jewish propaganda was not presented under so thick a veil. Witness *e.g.* the Book of Jubilees. Surely, at least in Lev. xvii. the place of slaughter is secondary to the prime object of the legislation, viz., the Blood Prohibition.

[2] Lev. xvi. 15, 16, 19; xvii. 11; Heb. ix., x. Since the above was written, there has appeared in the current number of *Biblica* (Vol. II., pp. 141-169) a valuable article: "Le Symbolisme du Sacrifice Expiatoire en Israël," by Dr. Médebielle. It is to be concluded in the next number (July, 1921).

There was another change—the Blood Prohibition was reversed. The life is in the blood : hence to have the life of Christ within us it is necessary to drink His sacred Blood:—

> "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent Me and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, the same also shall live by Me." (John vi. 54-58).

No wonder the Jews, with the blood prohibition among their deepest convictions, "strove one with another, saying: 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?'" (John vi. 53). No wonder many, even of the disciples, said: "This is a hard saying; and who can hear it?" (vi. 61). We can even understand how after the further explanation that it was not a dead body that they would eat, but the living Christ ascended to the Father, still "many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (vi. 67). But the twelve that remained were privileged to witness the abolition of the blood prohibition and the institution of the great Sacrament : "Drink ye all of this : for this is My blood of the (New) Testament."

III.

THE PROPHETS.

By the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J., M.A.

It is of the nature of religion, if I may use a somewhat hackneyed distinction, to contain a static and a dynamic element, or again, to put it in a more concrete form, an institutional and a personal aspect. Religion for the most part is intensely conservative, both in what is essential and what is not; it keeps to the old faith and the old forms, and is slow to admit even the most legitimate development. Yet, on the other hand, it must make a living appeal or perish; and it is the very stability of faith and form that enables it to do so. "I know whom I have believed" (2 Tim. i. 12); that is the cry of every great religious leader down the ages, of every religion, and modern attempts to modify the attitude show little promise of lasting success.

The Mosaic Law, the system as such, Old Testament religion upon its institutional side, has already been dealt with by Dr. Bird, and much that he has set forth is important for the understanding of the present paper, since it supplies the necessary background. The personal side of Old Testament religion is supplied in the main by the prophets; through them comes the direct appeal from the Divine Person to the human, a sublime and spiritual appeal, yet often highly anthropomorphic. Almighty God speaks at times in the language of an emotion no less vivid and personal than that which He seeks to arouse in His people. The prophet is the human instrument by which He manifests His mind, and makes this personal appeal. The

distinction between the institutional and the personal side of the Old Testament religion, however, must not be drawn too sharply. Moses the lawgiver was himself a prophet, and the greatest of the prophets up till the very times of Christ ; and the later prophets constituted a permanent institution, recognised as such by the Law, in Deuteronomy xviii. 15-22. With this authentic declaration we may commence an examination of the nature of Old Testament prophecy, and later pass to the consideration of the function it fulfilled. In both parts of the paper the indication, rather than the substance of argument must suffice; the vastness of the subject and the limits of time permit no more.

The prophet is the spokesman of God; the very word "prophet" signifies as much in the Greek whence it is derived, and most probably the corresponding Hebrew word also. That he may be God's spokesman two essential conditions are required, revelation and mission, God must speak to the prophet, and also commission the prophet to repeat what He has said. That is the idea of prophecy that we find in the Old Testament, both in the Book of Deuteronomy and in the writings of the prophets themselves. Revelation and mission, the message and the command to deliver it, alike stand out clearly in Deuteronomy xviii. 18-19 ; here and elsewhere, to avoid discussion and delay, I translate direct from the Hebrew:—

> "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like to thee, and I will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I shall command him. And it shall be, that whoso will not hearken to My words, which he shall speak in My name, I will require it of him."

Thus the words are God's, put into the prophet's mouth, spoken in His name, and by His command. Revelation and mission are reinforced by the threat against any that will not hearken. Then comes the command to slay impostors; he is an impostor whose prediction does not come true. To this test we shall return.

Revelation and mission are also clearly indicated, for example, in the larger prophetic works that have come down to us. Isaiah, after his vision of the Lord in glory, receives the divine command, "Go, and tell this people" (Isa. vi. 9); to Jeremiah also, like unto Moses in his diffidence no less than in his meekness, it is said, "To whomsoever (or possibly, to whatsoever) I shall send thee, thou shalt go, and whatsoever I shall command thee thou shalt speak . . . . I have put My words in thy mouth" (Jer. i. 7, 9); Ezekiel, like Isaiah, beholds the glory of God before receiving his commission: the vision occupies the first chapter, and the commission the second and third, wherein he is told more than once that he is sent of the Lord, and is to speak the words of the Lord. Thus in each of these cases we have clearly the divine message, and the command to promulgate it; but in reality both are indicated every time that a prophet uses the common phrase, "Thus saith the Lord."

In revelation and mission, then, we have the essentials of prophecy. It cannot be necessary to insist that it was not essential that the prophet should commit his prophecy to writing, seeing that we have such striking examples in proof as Elias and Eliseus (Elijah and Elisha). Such records of the prophets' utterances as have come down are guaranteed to us by the fact that they are found in inspired books; this again, was in no

way bound to be, though it is all to our advantage. The two prophets named worked miracles, by which the truth of their mission was attested: such at least is the Old Testament version of the matter, and it is the only evidence available, distasteful as it may be to some modern sceptics : a striking example is the trial between Elias and the false prophets on Carmel (III. [I.] Kings xviii.). But neither can miracles be called essential to the prophet, valuable as they may be in confirmation of his mission. They are conspicuous by their absence in the case of the Baptist ; "John did no sign" (John x. 41).

Even prediction cannot be considered strictly essential to the prophet ; but here we have to make a distinction, if I may put it this way with all reverence, between short-distance and long-distance prophecy. The former, to be verified almost at once, may serve as a test of revelation and mission, the one test indicated in Deuteronomy; if what the would-be prophet has sought to foretell do not come to pass, the Lord has not spoken by him (Deut. xviii. 22). Conversely, we may suppose (though it is not said) that the fulfilment of a prediction might go a long way to prove revelation and mission. We have examples both of the positive and negative effect. The false prophets had promised victory to Achab and Josaphat; but Micheas (Micaiah) prophesied the defeat that was to come (III. [I.] Kings xxii.). And Jeremiah refutes Hananiah's promise of deliverance from Babylon by the prediction of Hananiah's own death, which is soon fulfilled (Jer. xxviii.).

A study of the false prophets confirms the conclusion drawn from the study of the true ; what is found lacking in them is precisely mission and revelation. Of long-

distance prophecy, chiefly messianic in character, I shall speak later; evidently it could not serve as a test, nor can it be said strictly to be of the essence of prophecy. Other tests of mission and revelation of course existed besides those already touched upon ; the whole life and character of the prophet, the comparison of his teaching with divine truth already known, and so forth.

Such is the broad outline the Old Testament conception of the nature of prophecy. It is to be found in all the relevant evidence on the subject ; it was enforced by the prophets themselves, even by the false prophets, and was accepted by the people at large. Nevertheless, when we come to examine more closely that revelation which lies at the root of the whole conception, it is no longer possible to proceed in peace and security. While Catholics and most believing Christians admit readily enough that the whole subject of immediate communication between God and man is obscure and difficult, those who believe less, or who believe little or nothing, are apt to treat it as a fundamental axiom, a point beyond all dispute, that such immediate communication is entirely out of the question. And so, if he looks outside of his own communion, the Catholic scholar finds whole commentaries absolutely dominated by this presupposition, that none the less would usually be called moderate and even conservative. The presupposition is seldom avowed ; sometimes, indeed, the author or editor himself hardly seems to be aware of the extent to which it influences his whole exegesis. Nevertheless, it is often the fact—more often than not, I should think, among serious scholars outside the Catholic Church as I understand it—that an explanation involving revelation or miracle is looked upon as no explanation

at all, but merely a problem still unsolved; and this attitude is taken up, consciously or unconsciously, even by those who profess to believe in what we may shortly describe as a personal God.

To deal with such presuppositions would evidently take us far afield, far away from prophecy as such. It must be enough to suggest briefly two causes that may help to explain their presence and influence, the neglect both of sound philosophy and of sound history. No doubt some non-Catholic scholars have come to the study of Holy Writ with philosophical opinions already formed as a result of philosophical studies, and these opinions have sometimes been of a subversive character. But it is my impression that such scholars have often lacked a proper grounding in philosophy, and have not themselves recognised the necessity of resting their exegetical and theological conclusions upon it. Philosophy cannot supply for religion, but a false philosophy can subvert religion. A Christian theory of God, the soul, and knowledge is a need of human reason if there is to be Christian faith. Such a theory will also save the scholar from a distortion of historical evidence. Modern exegesis is apt to resolve itself into hacking one's way through the only available evidence, under the hypnotising influence of a theory of natural evolution which peremptorily excludes all divine intervention. A Catholic, too, comes to the study of Holy Writ with some principles already firm in his mind, let us not deny it ; but they are principles open and avowed, which he is fully prepared to discuss, nor is he afraid to admit occasional difficulties in their application, or to define their exact force and influence upon him. I am very far from wishing to impute bad faith to the typical

non-Catholic exegete of to-day; nevertheless, he does need to think and to express himself more clearly, more adequately, and even ruthlessly, more frankly. He needs to think out all his own methods and implications, to try to get to the bottom of things, to take nothing for granted unawares.

Having dared to say so much, and in a way that I hope will give no offence, let me turn to discuss the question, so far as it admits of discussion, as to how the prophet comes by his revelation. A theory has lately been put forward which I may briefly call the mediumistic hypothesis, which would explain, and explain away, the prophetic revelation by supposing the prophet to be endowed with the same kind of properties as a medium, without however allowing a divine message in the true sense. Let it suffice here to say that the occupation of a medium does not appear to be profitable for mind or body ; the prophets are made of sterner stuff. The theory of subliminal consciousness is more often put forward without this accretion; the prophet's pent up feelings gather in force till they explode with the irresistible conviction of a divine impulse : "Thus saith the Lord ! " Here, as elsewhere, my criticism must be summary, since it has seemed best to cover a great deal of ground. I would remark, then, that the prophets themselves, and also those who accepted them as such, would certainly have regarded such a view with horror, as excluding any divine message in the true sense, and putting them on a level with the false prophets, and that their illusion must have assumed colossal proportions, both in the intensity and the duration of their conviction. Sometimes, too, the reception and promulgation of the divine message does violence to the

whole bent of the prophet's nature; Jeremiah, for example, seems to be nervous, anxious to escape, broken-hearted. "Woe is me, my mother," he cries, "Thou hast borne me a man of strife and contention to the whole earth" (xv. 10). At other times the period of internal incubation appears to be unreasonably short : it needs but a night to make Nathan realise that David is not to build the Temple after all (II Kings [II Sam.] vii.), and perhaps not half-an-hour to make Isaiah retract his divine message of death to Ezechiah (IV [II] Kings xx.).

There is another argument, to which also I must fail to do justice. The arm of the Lord is not shortened; the evidence for direct communication between God and man, like that for miracle, comes down in continuous stream to our own times. For the last instance, and that in our own century, I may mention the wonderful, nay, astounding case of Gemma Galgani, in whom, among other things, our Lord renewed the outward tokens of His Passion. His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet has contributed a preface to the English translation of her life. True, the mission of such Catholic mystics cannot be put on a level with that of the prophets, nor does the Church require our assent to the truth of their revelation. Nevertheless, from a purely historical point of view the evidence in their favour is often, as in the case mentioned, far superior to that in favour of the prophets, and has been subjected by competent eye-witnesses themselves to searching scrutiny. The experiences of the later mystics, in fact, throw a valuable light upon the phenomena of prophecy, upon the manner in which the divine action affects intellect and sense and so forth. If there still be those who have nothing

better than a blank denial for all this mass of evidence from Old and New Covenant—well, let us say one last word to them, and not a very new one at that: there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of either in their philosophy or their history.

The nature of prophecy is the more important question; that of the function we may treat briefly under three headings, the function of prophecy with reference to past, present and future. The modern evolutionary hypothesis supposes the prophets to have developed themselves almost all that was worth having in the religion of Israel, and in order to dispose of any recalcitrant evidence passes them through the same mincing machine as the Books of Moses and Josue. No doubt there is a certain development of doctrine to be observed in the prophetic writings, indeed, this very consideration of their doctrine is a powerful motive for regarding the less developed Pentateuch, or even that part of it usually called the Priestly Code, as the starting-point rather than the consummation of their labours. Yet in the main the prophets enforce acknowledged obligations and established beliefs; most of all they presuppose the clear conception of a personal God without which there could be no question of revelation or mission. With Faith and Law to precede them, the prophets are fairly intelligible; to invert the order is to put the cart before the horse. "The Lord shall roar from Sion," begins Amos, "and utter His voice from Jerusalem." If the critics reject this verse, the main reason is precisely because it presupposes the Mosaic Law as we know it, with Jerusalem in the privileged position of the central sanctuary; given the Mosaic Law already in

force, nothing could be more natural. And the late Prof. Wellhausen, whose Teutonic yoke appears to be fastened upon our necks more firmly than ever since the War, in order to invest the rival sanctuaries, the high places, with a legal and venerable antiquity, such as would subvert the unique claim of Jerusalem founded upon the Mosaic Law, performs the somewhat startling exploit of entirely overlooking the idolatry which the evidence of the historical books shows to have been practised there. I have touched upon these points in a paper on "The Ark of the Covenant," in *Moses and the Law* (London: Griffiths: 1922)—one of a series on Pentateuch problems, two or three of which in some measure support the contention, which in any case I cannot urge any further here, that in the main the prophets assume doctrine rather than, as the "critics" would say, manufacture it.

The function of prophecy, then, with regard to the past was to keep alive ancient standards of faith and religion, and even to infuse into them a life more vigorous still. This sufficiently indicates a function in respect of the present also, which, however, must be conceived on very large lines. The prophets were even more responsible for the guidance of Israel in faith and conduct than might at first sight appear. The priesthood of the Old Testament was essentially and almost exclusively a sacrificial and liturgical priesthood; it is astonishing to find how little is said about any teaching function. This latter chiefly fell to the prophets, and was afterwards taken up by the scribes ; it was not the priests that sat in the chair of Moses. We thus appear to have a different working system in Old and New Covenant ; in the former there does not seem to be an

absolute permanent infallible teaching body, but a broken series of prophetical teachers, extraordinary rather than ordinary messengers of divine truth, which they receive by special revelation, and promulgate by word of mouth, and sometimes by inspired writing also. Under the Old Covenant also, we have a progressive revelation, though not to the extent that some would suppose; under the New we have a deposit of faith closed once and for all after the death of the Apostles, though a certain development is possible in the better understanding and explanation of it.

Further, the prophets were the guides of Israel even in matters of state; it may be enough to cite Isaiah's warning not to rely upon Egypt (Isa. xxx. 1-7). The Old Covenant is a theocracy wherein is no limit to the divine guidance ; yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the Hebrews could not distinguish between religious and civil allegiance. The story of Joseph and of Daniel and much else offers positive proof to the contrary. Some of the prophets may have directed a more or less ascetic life led by those called the sons of the prophets, but this subject is rather obscure.

Guidance in action brings us to the function of prophecy with respect to the future, which indeed has already been involved to some extent in the discussion of what has been called short-distance prophecy, upon which there is no need to return. Rather let us in conclusion consider long-distance prophecy, and in general the larger hope of Israel. Types there were, persons and things and events signifying persons and things and events of greater import still to come. In the main, types are a sign to believers rather than unbelievers; yet some of them are very striking, for

example, the paschal lamb, viewed in the light of the Johannine writings.

There is also to be found in prophecy what I venture to call compenetration, a form of prophetic idealisation, wherein the more immediate present fades away, as it were, into the mightier fulfilment of the same divine counsel, which gradually glows through till it takes full possession of the screen. Let me present this doctrine in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, from the preface to his commentary on the Psalms:—

> "Prophecies are sometimes uttered about things which existed at the time in question, but are not uttered primarily with reference to them, but in so far as they are a figure of things to come; and therefore the Holy Ghost has provided that when such prophecies are uttered, some details should be inserted which go beyond the actual thing done, in order that the mind may be raised to the thing signified. Thus in Daniel many things are said of Antiochus as a figure of Antichrist; wherefore some things are therein read which were not accomplished in the case of Antiochus, but will be fulfilled in Antichrist. Thus, too, some things are read about the kingdom of David and Solomon, which were not to find fulfilment in the kingdom of these men, but they have been fulfilled in the kingdom of Christ, in figure of whom they were said. Such is Psalm lxxi., 'Give to the king thy judgment, O God,' which, according to its title, deals with the kingdom of David and Solomon, but there is something said therein which exceeds the power of that kingdom, viz., 'In his days shall justice spring up, and abundance of peace, till the moon

be taken away'; and again, 'He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends, etc. This psalm, therefore, is expounded of the kingdom of Solomon, in so far as it is a figure of the kingdom of Christ, in whom all things there said shall be fulfilled."

St. Thomas is doubtless basing his view in great part upon St. Jerome's note on Daniel xi. 21 ff. As we are holding these conferences in honour of this great biblical doctor, it may be well to quote also the words wherein for the first time, in what may be called the greatest of his commentaries, he explicitly sets forth this important teaching. He sets it forth, however, not as something new and original, but as the current Catholic opinion of his day, that Antiochus was a type of Antichist, "and that what befel Antiochus beforehand in part is to be accomplished in Antichrist in full. And that this is the wont of Holy Writ, to anticipate in types the truth of things that are to be, as in what is said of the Lord Saviour in Psalm lxxi., which has Solomon's name prefixed to it, whereas all that is said of Him cannot apply to Solomon. For he did not endure 'with the sun and before the moon, throughout all generations' . . . But in part and, as it were, in a shadow and image of the truth, these things were anticipated in Solomon, that they might be more perfectly fulfilled in the Lord Saviour. As therefore the Saviour has both Solomon and the other holy men as a type of His coming, so Antichrist has that most wicked king Antiochus."

This principle of the blending or compenetration of type and antitype appears to go back to St. Peter himself, in the discourse recorded in Acts ii. 14-36 ; and the importance of it has been recognised by more

than one recent Catholic writer. Not being able to expound the subject so fully as I should wish, I may perhaps be allowed to refer for a more detailed treatment to the chapter on "Christ in Type and Prophecy" in my little book, *Back to Christ*, where also it may be seen how his Eminence Cardinal Billot has applied the principle to the child of Isaiah vii.

Direct predictions we also find, long-distance prophecies in the strictest sense. Jacob, for example, prophesies of Judah in words which it appears fairly safe to translate thus :

"The sceptre shall not pass from Judah,
Nor the staff from between his feet,
Until he come whose it is,
And to him shall be the obedience of the peoples."
(Gen. xlix. 10.)

Thus, when Judah has finally lost its independence, the kingly sceptre in peace and the marshall's staff in war, the Messiah is to come to save the nations. But He is to save them through His passion and death, foretold in poems which my friend Père Condamin at Hastings has so ably translated and expounded in his edition of Isaiah. This death, again, is re-enacted in the universal sacrifice among the nations which Malachy foretells shall supplant the sacrifices in the Temple. To set forth these and other prophecies at length has seemed upon the whole of less importance than to insist upon the fundamental principles of prophecy as such. One feature may be singled out, however, common to the three prophecies just mentioned, and repeated in the Psalms and elsewhere, to which also emphatical appeal is made in the New Testament, for example, by St. James at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 17) and by St. Paul in his epistle to

the Romans (*e.g.* xv. 9-12): it is the strong universalism that appears again and again in the Old Testament, the marvellous and God-given conviction that so small a people were big with blessing for all mankind.

And how was it to be fulfilled ? That God, who had so striven to present Himself as a living Person to His people through the prophets, was at the last to woo them in the Flesh itself, to found a new Covenant, wherein should be neither Jew nor Gentile, but Himself all in all.

IV.

CHRIST IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By the Rev. C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J., M.A.

I am scarcely exaggerating when I say that an incident, which I have related perhaps too often, came as a sort of revelation to me. A young chauffeur once asked me what I thought of Sunday cinemas. He approved of them; he had been to one, and seen a film representing the Life of Christ. "If I'd not been to that cinema," said he, "I might not so much as have heard of Jesus Christ." "Jack," I said, "how is that possible? You're 22!" Well, his parents had died when he was a child; the Board School hadn't mentioned Jesus Christ; the garage assuredly had not taught him about that Life. At 22 the lad knew nothing of our Lord. "Why," I added, "d'you use His name so much to swear by then?" "Why," he retorted, "does your sort say 'By Jove'?" "I don't know; they don't mean anything particular by it." "No more don't I," he answered, "when I says 'Christ.'"

It would be out of place were I to insist on the appalling nemesis that has befallen a country which claimed, once, to have restored the pure Gospel, to have re-established the rule of the One Mediator, and has now lost Gospel alike and knowledge of its Saviour. No one, I fancy, will maintain we are any more a Bible-reading nation; and a notable book, *The Army and*

Religion, while agreeing that the Army—that is, the ordinary Englishman—was Theist, asked lately if it was Christian, and had to answer "No."

At least, the Bible-Christian of an earlier generation knew much about our Lord, His words and works, His lovableness. The heavy-burdened knew they could turn to Him; they went, and He gave them rest. In a thousand ways the Church has ever kept Christ and Christian intimately linked; super-eminently, by the Communion of His Real Presence in the Eucharist. But through the Gospels we at least learn *about* Him, and that is why no Congress like this one could dream of omitting to speak of the Person of Jesus Christ, of whom the Old Testament prophesied, towards whom the New looks back, union through whom with God is the aim and scope of divine Revelation.

* * * * *

Thirty, or even twenty, even ten, years ago, the writer of a paper such as this might have felt more seriously embarrassed than I need—embarrassed, at any rate, for at least two reasons which are no more so cogent, if at all.

To-day we can safely say that the historical existence of Jesus of Nazareth is outside dispute. Even before the nineteenth century, Dupuis and Volney asserted that the gospels were a mere tissue of astral myths, symbols, allegories. They possessed no historical foundation in a human life. These men were grotesquely unscientific; but while Bruno Bauer saw in Christ merely an ideal figure, a sort of visionary "anti-Caesar" created by the social misery of the under-classes in the Graeco-Roman world, he seemingly supported his thesis with scientific argument. Kalthoff also argued that

the person of Jesus was a literary fiction created to support an ideal conception of "Christ," the King needed to be head of a longed-for Kingdom ; J. M. Robertson supposed Him to have been the hero of a semi-pagan, semi-Jewish miracle play ; Jensen considered the Gospels to be a Judaised version of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh; B. Smith and A. Drews thought that the stories about Jesus were invented to consolidate a mystical faith in Christ, and so on. Erbt regarded the Gospels as a solar myth; and Niemojewski perceived that in Matthew Christ is a solar deity, in Luke a lunar deity, that Herod the Great, Herod Antipas, Herodias and Salome are the constellations of Aquarius, Scorpio, Cassiopeia and Andromeda respectively, and that the Cross is the Milky Way. I have chosen these names to show how this school has toppled over into nonsense ; I need scarcely refer you to M. J. Lagrange's *Sens du Christianisme* (translated into English by Dr. W. S. Reilly, S.S.) for the refutation of all this, when M. Guignebert, an extreme rationalist, has, in his *Problème de Jésus*, made us realise that criticism is not likely to pursue this path. The future need not trouble itself over *that* problem.

What has ruined so much of this sort of theorising at the base is, partly, the tremendous swing-back of criticism in the matter of dating the Gospels, and of their authenticity. Doubtless this is in great measure due to Harnack ; and the work he has done on the Lucan writings affects both Gospel and Acts ; and though St. Matthew is still more disputed than St. Mark, and St. John than either, it remains that a Catholic, who would have looked a fool in learned eyes if, thirty years ago, he had maintained the traditional dates and authorships,

can do so now and find himself practically coinciding with the conclusions of much independent scholarship. As for St. John, I will quote as symptomatic—no more than that—a sentence lately written by a reviewer of Bishop Gore's *Epistles of St. John* in the *Oxford Magazine*: "[the writer] is inclined to think that . . . the Johannine authorship [will] become, like Bentley's digamma, no longer a prophetic vision, but a doctrine to be held by all sane men." If this holds for the Epistles, *a fortiori* it holds for the Gospel.

As for St. Paul, I have never been able to drive myself into that state of mind which accepts as his the four "great" epistles, *Romans*, *Corinthians I.* and *II.*, and *Galatians*, and rejects or doubts the others, especially *Colossians*, *Philippians*, or *Ephesians*. I feel with Dr. Headlam, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, whom Fr. Lattey quotes in his *Back to Christ*, p. 18, that "*Ephesians* is Pauline through and through, and more even than *Romans* represents the deepest thoughts of the Apostles, and to [doubt its integrity] shows an incapacity to form a judgment of any value in critical matters." So for the others.

As for the reliability of our New Testament, I consider that the different rationalist schools have defeated one another. Thus I think that the French schools, like Loisy's, however unsatisfactory in other ways, have at least discredited the sort of "liberal protestant pastor" whom Harnack, for example, sees to underlie the Gospel portrait of our Lord; and that Germany has disproved those of its own schools, and Loisy's school, who picture a merely eschatological Christ, a Jewish enthusiast expecting an imminent end to the world, preaching an interim religion and founding no Church

which should outlast his generation. Many of the arguments which demolish the "mythical" explanation of Christ to which I alluded, defeat too the syncretist schools which imagine that Greek, Asiatic, Egyptian and other rituals and formulas conspired to create the infant Church, which proceeded then to reconstruct its historical memories of Jesus to suit itself. For a review of this situation I again recommend Lagrange's *Sens du Christianisme.*

St. Paul in particular I wish to emphasise as reliable. Not only he could proclaim, quite generally, that if he himself or an angel from heaven preached anything which did not coincide with what he always had preached he must be held anathema, but you clearly see that at all points he had resort to the original apostles, men far less intellectual or imperial-minded than he, tested his own Gospel by theirs, checked it, was acknowledged as not deviating from it, and was commissioned by them to preach it. Throughout the New Testament, its authors and its heralds, there is spiritual and doctrinal solidarity; Paul is not against Peter, nor the Synoptists alien to St. John.

Our knowledge of Jesus must be the knowledge given by the *New Testament*, massively and as a whole.

Now taking the New Testament as a whole, it might be more scientific to display what was the faith preached to and believed by the earliest Church as deduced from the earliest documents, *i.e.* some of St. Paul's letters whether his earliest of all was *Thessalonians* or (*vid.* Westminster Version, *Galatians*) the *Galatians*. You would there see the whole Christian Faith of Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, and the Church not exactly

codified and asserted as such, but what is far more significant, *alluded* to, almost *en passant*, as familiar and known. This is far better evidence for the universal Christian faith, as being something that can be presupposed and taken for granted, than any series of protests or new definitions. But I would rather outline the portrait of Christ as it first showed itself to His contemporaries, and study the documents which, if not as they stand the earliest, yet portray the earliest period and do so with such simplicity, such coherence, such naïveness of realism yet transcendence of doctrine, as to make any unsophisticated reader certain that the picture is true to life.

The public life of Jesus began tacitly. The fierce ascetic Baptist cried aloud; the city thronged out to him. But mingled in the crowd, Christ came, indistinguishable. And when He began, in His turn, to preach, His message too seemed unoriginal—the Coming of a Kingdom. It was the ancient Jewish hope ; Christ, like any prophet, you would at first have said, is coming —is sent—has for His work to announce just that ; and to that, sends those who group themselves around Him. But gradually, through the parables, through the discourses, the notion of the Kingdom develops itself as beyond anything that Old Testament vision had descried. Is it for the Jews, or to be world-wide ? Contemporary, or for the future ? A gradual growth, or catastrophic ? Within the soul, or visible, material ? To be earned, or to be received, free favour from God, who alone can give it ? The enigma is insoluble till you perceive it is all of these things. It *has* begun; yet it is not consummated; from Judæa it arises, but its limits are the world's and the temporal shall extend into eternity. It

is a pearl to be bought by every sacrifice ; yet it is God's gift to His beloved; it is a city on a hill, a lamp on a lamp-stand; yet a leaven working secretly; a hidden grain, germinating through heat and cold, rain and wind and sleep, suddenly, some day only, to dazzle you by a field full of vivid green.

Alas, it may be resisted ; it is forced on none ; the guests refuse their invitation, swine would but trample on the Pearl ; to the end Jerusalem refuses her Saviour's brooding wings : nay, even within the Kingdom's net there are good fish and bad ; in its field tares grow within the wheat, only at long last to be cast forth, back to the barren sea, or to burn.

However, you may perceive more and more that the emphasis lay on the *changed heart* ; for its sake, the exterior and material existed. Pharisee, Scribe, were—well, if not wholly wrong, at least not right enough: the triumph of the Kingdom was the essential alteration of the fountain of the soul's life, a complete annihilation of separative self-love ; a purification of far beyond mere behaviour ; an assimilation to the perfection of the Father, in favour of which all that might prevent it must be abandoned, hand cut off, eye plucked out; riches at least be feared ; home, parents, perhaps abandoned; nay a Cross be shouldered and carried every day. This new heart, our Lord makes clear, is to *succeed* precisely in proportion as it approaches, by a special route, to the *divine* Perfection. Impossible conception even for the highest of Hebrew seers! It was the Hebrew prerogative to insist on the unapproachableness of God, however deep His condescension towards His elect. "My thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith Yahweh. For as

the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts." But Christ re-reveals the Father. This is not the place to relate in detail that radical revelation. Enough to say that He shows God to be such in tender intimacy and homeliness of paternal love as to offer to the individual soul a new *access* based on a new relationship possible or actual. But how, a Jew, hearing this from Christ's lips, might ask, how can You give that revelation so as to convince us of its reliability? In many ways our Lord offered His guarantees: prophecy fulfilled in Himself; Messianic miracles worked, in God's name, by Him. But, for us, at least, and for all who "heard" Him, who "came to Him," most cogent of all is the terrific asseveration

> All things are given over to me by my Father,
> And no one fully knows the Son save the Father,
> Nor does any one fully know the Father save the Son,
> And he to whom the Son may choose to reveal Him.
> (Matt. xi. 27. Luke x. 22.)

The unique revelation is rooted in the unique relation of Jesus Himself to the Father. Herein our Lord transcends even that title, Son of Man, known by now to be at least Messianic, which He appropriates altogether to Himself; herein He says more than that, as in the Parable (Matt. xxi. 28, and xxii. 2), He is the exclusive son and heir, and indicates that all the Prophets are servants, as of the Father, so of Himself; more even than when (Mark xiii. 32) we see that He exalts Himself so high that the very angels are below Him. He asserts a perfect reciprocity of knowledge between Himself and the Eternal and Infinite Father of all things, and therefore one of nature; and not because He

is Messiah is He to be called "Son of God," but because He is one with God, He can reveal Him to the world and save it.

Herein is the explanation, at last, of why in an unshared way our Lord speaks of God as "My Father,"; and of Himself as *The* Son in a unique and essential way, the more noticeable for His insistence, throughout, upon God's universal Fatherhood and the brotherhood of all mankind in Him.

Christ is the co-equal son of the Father, and to men He offers a gift that is divine.

Do not fear that this transcendent revelation will spoil for you the Humanity of Jesus. *Read* the Gospels, and you will never forget Bethlehem and Mary and her baby: the shepherds, the starlit flight: Jesus at his carpentering; the sick at sunset; the children in His arms; Olivet, Gennesareth, nor Gethsemane, and the fear and the heartbreak; the frightful struggle of a life against its imminent violent ending; the scourge, the crown, the carrying of the Cross, the nails; the ultimate proof of humanity, His Death. So tenderly, so gently through all the tiniest, most customary things of life, as through its tremendous ultimate necessities, is the vast revelation given, that without fear of—I will not say, alas, refusal, but of frightening us by His due glory, He can place Himself at the centre of the world, and say: "Come unto ME, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden; take My yoke upon you and learn of ME, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls."

Do not imagine that Paul is any more foreign to our humanity than are the first three Gospels. At any rate it is Hebrews that tells us we have not merely some High

Priest, who cannot sympathise with our weaknesses, but that Christ was tested at all points, just as we are, though without sin. To me, Paul, through and through, was permeated with the humanity of Jesus—especially Christ crucified, Christ with whom he was co-crucified, co-buried, Christ who emptied Himself by taking the form of a slave and becoming in the likeness of men; and being recognised by His fashion—what we could *see* of Him, *as* man, humbled Himself [yet further] by becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.

And it is John who tells us of that which his eyes had seen, his hands had handled, in many an exquisite incident left unrecorded by the Synoptists; of the midnight talk with Nicodemus; of Jacob's well, and how our Lord let Himself sink there, exhausted—*sedebat sic* with no less tenderness than Mark when he relates how Christ slept in the storm-tossed boat, *His head upon a pillow*. Read and re-read the washing of the Feet and the discourse and the prayer of Thursday evening; in no literature has a human love so pure, so strong, so unutterably intimate been told of.

But what Paul cries to the world is more than that. Through Christ, existing before all creation, all creation came to be, and *in* Him its true existence is, and *from* Him. For God, who in many ways and fragments had revealed Himself of old, summed up that revelation in the person of a Son, the exact Image of God the Invisible, His Effulgence, Light from Light, the Impress of His substance, as stamp corresponds to seal—Jesus *is* the Lord—is Yahweh, and Heir of all things. So for John. In the beginning existed that Word which is the Father's thought and the adequate expression of that

thought; He was along with God, and He was God. He shared God's glory before the world was, and thence into our world proceeded, and thither from our world returned; "Whoso hath seen Me, hath seen the Father," "The Father remains in Me and I in Him," "I and the Father are one thing."

Pre-existence then, and Incarnation: but Incarnation, why?

That we might, says Paul, be co-risen, co-heirs, co-glorified, co-kings with Him; that we might, says St. John, "have life in His name," "have life," says our Lord Himself, "and have it more abundantly."

It is Paul's clear doctrine that to the race was given, in the person of Adam, a supernatural life, implying a supernatural union with God and a destiny of eternal, supernatural happiness. Adam, by his sin, lost it, and we, incorporated with him, lost it too. "In Adam, all died." By a new incorporation, with a Second Adam, who *has* that life, and life, not by favour, this time, but by nature, we are to recover it. "In Christ shall all be made alive." In Christ—a tiny phrase, yet used 164 times, in those letters of St. Paul which remain to us. For all is in it. Herein is Redemption, hereby Glorification. Christ, by His obedience unto death, nailed to His Cross the handwriting that was against us, and by His resurrection proved that when we incorporate ourselves with Him, we do so with that which is Immortal. Forthwith springs into existence the complement of Christ—"the Church which is His Body, the Plenitude of Him who thus completes Himself." "You are Christ's body (collectively), and [individually] His members . . . unto the building up of the body of Christ into a perfect man, unto the measure

of the stature of the Plenitude of Christ . . . who is the Head" (Eph. iv. 12). Of this mystic Christ, the Spirit is as it were the soul; "He who adheres to the Lord *is one* Spirit" (1 Cor. vi. 17). This spirit is our principle of cohesion, of vital action; we live in Him (Gal. v. 25), walk in Him, (Gal. v. 16), under His impulse take the shape of Christ (2 Cor. iii. 18), "I live, no longer I, but Christ lives in me," even as I am in Him.

I have no space to speak of Paul's other metaphors —expressive of that union of Christian and Christ which is no metaphor—that one, but many-chambered house (like John's sanctuary in the Apocalypse, wherein each living pillar is inbuilded into the whole)—the union of Spouse and his beloved. Impossible to exaggerate the *reality* of the inpouring of Christ's life into our life. Impossible, too, even to outline adequately St. John's promulgation of the same truth. We must be born again from above—have God's creative spirit inbreathed into us. We must receive God's free gift of living water so that it becomes in us a fountain leaping up into Eternal Life, and overbrims ourselves and gives life to the world. The restoration of the paralytic to life, nay, of dead Lazarus to life, is nothing compared to that leaping forth of human life into the life of supernature, a new life compared with which the best of the old is as death. And how appropriate this Life? Again, by union with Him who gives it, because He has it, and has it, because He *is* it. "I AM the resurrection," "I AM the life," "No man cometh to the Father save by Me." By Christ's own life are we nourished: the patriarchs ate bread from heaven, but they died; He that eateth *my* bread shall never die—for *I* am the Bread from Heaven, and that bread which I shall give

for the life of the world, is my Flesh—He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood HATH Eternal Life—he remaineth in Me and I in him. As . . . I live by the Father, so He that eateth me, shall live by Me, that as "Thou,' He prays to the Father, "art in Me and I in Thee, so they may be in Us . . . one thing, as We are one thing, I in them, and they in Me, that they may be made complete into one." The Eucharist could not nourish the only life for whose sake it exists, were it anything less than the Living Christ, really and truly present for the "deification" of our souls.

I cannot bring myself to finish this paper without recalling the *Apocalypse* in which John sees focussed as it were to a point the remaining history of the world—the destruction of the great pagan anti-Christian Empire, and the final destruction of sin and all that resists the triumph of our Lord.

There are those who find this book's presentment of Him harsh, or at least austere to the point of being terrible; at the outset He is seen endued with the raiment, surrounded with the symbolism, proper to Yahweh in the Old Testament; as the book proceeds, He rides forth as a Conqueror, a Triumphator; He wields a sword, His clothes are drenched in blood.

But not untrue to himself is the Apostle of Love. Read the most tender even when most stern letters to the Seven Churches, which are set in preface to the book. See in what terms Christ promises His intimacy to the victorious soul. The Conqueror shall be given a white tessera, or badge, and on it a new name written, that no one knows save Him who gives and him who receives it—the new self—the new way of existing, to which

the new name belongs, and which comes through, which *is*, the supernatural union of Christ and Christian. On the pillars of the new Temple are written three Names, the Name of God, the Name of the New Jerusalem, and "My own new Name." The soul is sealed as God's, and it is an integral part of that divine Church that Christ has builded, and—unfathomable condescension of God who will not only give, but accepts—without the incorporate Christian Christ Himself were less, the self of His Plenitude were imperfect; He wins His new self whereby He is the Church's head, thanks precisely to the fidelity and victory of the Church's members; He too has a New Name.

Last of all He says, "Behold, I am standing at the door and am knocking: if a man hear My voice and open the door, then I will enter in to him and I will eat with him, and he with Me." Heart has met heart, and it is enough. After all the vision, the high hymns of praise, the thunders of many waters, the whole book calms itself into the Church's expectant humble prayer, Come! "Yes," He answers, "Behold I come quickly." "Even so, come, Lord Jesus. Amen." For though, as St. John elsewhere says, "to as many as receive Him, to them He gives power to become sons of God," and "we are called children of God, and so in fact we *are*," yet it remains true that the manifestation of this present reality is for the future, and though heaven is even now in us, by grace, we are not yet, by glory, in our heaven. We can say truly, both "I am at home here, in my Father's house," and, "For thee, oh dear, dear country, mine eyes their vigils keep."

The Jesus of Nazareth is the Jesus of Holy Communion and the Judge of the World, and our reward eternally.

In the New Testament then we are shown a human life of which a child can understand the lovableness and the beauty, with which the poorest, the unhappiest, the sick and the sinner can enter into the most intimate sympathy; a baby; a working-man; a man of loneliness and fear; of friendships, of hopes, and of heart-break; a man, in all this, untainted, never once selfish, never untrue. And we are shown that this same man is the Son of God made man, that thereby He might knit us men into Himself, and thereby into God, and thus into unity with one another, becoming one Bread of many grains, one Vine, with Him for stem, ourselves for branches, alive with one leaping sap, that is the Spirit who inhabits us. All then, most assuredly, is recapitulated into Christ, as St. Paul says; brought to a head in Him; all the desire of the ages, and all force for the future.

There are those whose duty it is to study the Christ of Dogma; those who essay to discover, through old documents, the Christ of History: those, and in our country there are many, who, despairing, it may be, of attaining to either of these, content themselves with the Christ of Experience. I should have to ask pardon of you, even more humbly than I do, after these brief, fumbling words about the Son of God made man, had I wholly failed to show you that these three are the same; and that the Jesus of Bethlehem and Calvary, the God-man of theology, and the Christ of our Communions, our Captain, Comrade, and Lover, are One, and the Life of our whole soul.

V.

THE ORGANIZED CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By the Rev. R. A. Knox, M.A.

The Catholic doctrine of the Church is one which needs a double line of defence. In order to defend it, it is necessary to prove in the first place that our Divine Lord meant to leave behind Him an organized body of followers, and in the second place that He meant to leave that body organized in a particular way, and not in any one of a dozen different ways which have been proposed or adopted as rival interpretations. This second question—whether, for example, our Lord Himself instituted the episcopate, and whether He conferred extraordinary privileges on St. Peter and his successors—is one that is capable of statement only after a very full, detailed treatment, and from the lips of an expert. It is the former question, appealing as it does to a set of general impressions rather than to a string of texts or a catena of age-long controversy, that I want to consider in this lecture—the question, namely, whether it was in our Lord's intention to found an organization at all. For, after all, outside a comparatively close circle of her critics, the claims of the Church are set aside not, directly, because she has a particular kind of organization, but because she has so much of it; and, often enough, when

you come to investigate the grievance, because she is an organized body at all. The wiseacre of the modern railway carriage has it laid up among his stock of incontrovertible platitudes that he doesn't belong to any religious body at all; if one of his fellow-travellers looks like an Anglican clergyman, he adds that if he did he would be a Roman Catholic.

The issue can be put in a nutshell if we ask—Did our Lord come to introduce into the world an abstract thing, Christianity, or a concrete, though spiritual, entity, Christendom? Is the visible monument of His sojourn in the world an influence over the thoughts and lives of men, like that of Confucius, or an Institute, like that of St. Ignatius? Is the rude name of "Christian," shouted out by the street-boys of Antioch, inherited as of right by everyone who conforms himself to Christ's rule of life, and according to the measure in which he succeeds, or does it belong, primarily, to a defined and self-propagating religious corporation, with its own forms of government and its own ceremonies? Those who, after Tolstoy and Renan, would represent our Blessed Lord as a ethical idealist, and equally those who, after Schweitzer, would represent Him as a chiliastic fanatic, are forced to suppose that the outward shell of institutional religion which has, historically, preserved His record and His message, is a husk merely, discernible from the true grain; that its hierarchy, for example, and its liturgy are, historically, accretions; spiritually, matters of indifference. There is another view which I hope to set before you, which maintains that the continuation of His work by a visible, organized Society is an integral part of our Lord's purpose in His Incarnation.

The name everywhere given to the Society which has,

de facto, descended from Him is the *Ecclesia*. He used that name Himself, when, for example, He hailed one of His apostles as the foundation stone of His *ecclesia*. There was, at that time, already an *ecclesia* in existence—a calling out of certain specially favoured souls from among their fellow-men: it was, for practical purposes, nearly equal in extent with an ethnographical unit, the Jewish race. If, then, our Lord meant to have an *ecclesia* of His own, some further selection is clearly implied, whether altogether inside, or altogether outside the old *ecclesia*, or as a fresh circle intersecting, so to speak, the old circle. Now, when our Lord thus takes it for granted, in speaking to a circle of not over-quick-witted followers, that it is part of His purpose to establish an *ecclesia* of His own, it is hard to suppose that He was introducing them suddenly to a quite unfamiliar idea. He must have depended upon being understood from His context. What is the context? He has just been hailed as the Messiah. Surely, then, His answer must mean: "Yes, and as (at least) the Messiah, I have come to institute a fresh *ecclesia*: it is on you, Peter, that I mean to build it." The new *Ecclesia* is the complement, the correlative, of the promised Messiah. What, then were the ideas ordinarily entertained in the minds of our Lord's contemporaries as to the Christ and His Church?

A vast amount of attention has been devoted lately to the eschatological writings which, lying outside the Canon of Holy Scripture, mostly belong to a period between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New. From a consideration of them we should conclude that the expectations of the Chosen People at the time of the Christian era were something as follows. That there was to be a kingdom of God, either

upon the present earth (Ethiopian Enoch, 1-36, 83-104), or in a new Creation (*ib.* 37-70), either temporary (*ib.* 91-104) or eternal (*ib.* 1-90), perhaps connected with a Final Judgment, which would either precede (*ib.* 37-70) or follow it (*ib.* 91-104, and Psalms of Solomon,) such judgment would be executed, perhaps on certain selected classes of men and angels (Ethiopian Enoch, 90), perhaps on all (*ib.* 37-70), the Kingdom and the judgment might be connected with the coming of a personal Messiah (*ib.* 83-90; Sibylline Oracles, No 3), or it might not (Ethiopian Enoch, 1-36, 91-104; Psalms of Solomon, 1-16); perhaps a Man, of the seed of David (Psalms of Solomon, 17), perhaps a supernatural Being, described as the Son of Man (Ethiopian Enoch, 37-70). Either at the beginning (Ethiopian Enoch, 1-36) or at the end (*ib.* 91-104) of the Kingdom there would perhaps be a Resurrection, either of all mankind (Ethiopian Enoch, 51) or of the righteous only (*ib.* 37-70), which was to take place either in the body (*ib.* 1-36) or in the spirit (*ib.* 91-104), or in a new and spiritual body (*ib.* 37-70). Finally, the Gentiles would either be converted (*ib.* 16) or annihilated (*ib.* 37-70), or spared to serve the conquering Israelites (*ib.* 90; Psalms of Solomon, 17).

It will be seen that at this period eschatology, as an exact science, was in its infancy. But if we want to get at the popular impressions our Lord was dealing with (and it is only natural to suppose that He used language in its popular meaning when He addressed a popular audience), it seems fairly clear from all the recorded observations of His own contemporaries, from the *Benedictus* onwards, that the fixed hope was of the coming of a Messiah, who should set up a Kingdom, presumably an earthly kingdom, after triumphing over

the Romans and the other enemies of the chosen people; repentance for sin was indicated as the proper attitude in face of this approaching world-epoch, otherwise there was no definite theology on the subject.

It was part of our Lord's teaching to identify Himself with the promised Messiah, and in doing so to correct and fill out popular conceptions of what salvation, redemption, and judgment meant. It was also part of His teaching to identify the Kingdom of Heaven (or Kingdom of God) with—what? Surely in the first instance, surely where the contrary is not stated, the earthly, Davidic kingdom which His hearers would be expecting. He has to take gross, materialistic ideas, and terms as the symbols of those ideas, and invest them with a fresh meaning in order to prepare the way for that spiritual kingdom which (He told Pilate) His servants would not attempt to achieve by force. This is true, above all, of the parables, in which the phrase "the kingdom of heaven" is often too rashly assumed to refer to our future existence after the Second Advent, although a very little study of Patristic interpretation shows that in most cases there is at least a strong stream of tradition which identifies the Kingdom of Heaven with the Church militant on earth.

I say this was part of our Lord's teaching, but, as He Himself told His Apostles, it was not in the full sense part of His public teaching, for out of the crowds who heard His parables only a few, a chosen few, were meant to understand them. "To you (the Apostles) it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given. Therefore do I speak to them in parables, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand." In a word,

the economy of the future Church was set forth only in a mystery, in language so clothed with allegory that the unfriendly critic—above all, the Pharisee, note-book in hand and pencil behind ear—would miss its significance; miss it altogether at first, and then gradually become alive to it, till after the parable of the wicked husbandmen, one of the last of all, "they knew that He spoke of them." In three main points, especially, it is necessary to re-interpret the popular ideas about the Kingdom of Heaven in the light of the Christian Church. (1) It is to include Gentiles as well as Jews, and the Gentiles are to be included as in their own right. (2) It is to precede the General Judgment, and that by a considerable interval. (3) It is not to be a perfect kingdom in the sense that there will be no traitors and no reprobates among its members.

(1) The rejection of the Jews as a race, and their displacement (in large measure) in favour of the Gentiles under the New Dispensation is the secret of nearly half the parables. The Jew is the son who undertakes to work in the vineyards and does not; the Gentile is the one who refuses and then relents. The Jew is the elder son who has never left his Father's house; the Gentile the prodigal who is welcomed (it seems so unfairly) on his return home. The Jew is the early-hired labourer, who has borne the burden of the day and the heat; the Gentile, called at the eleventh hour, is made equal to him. The Jew is the rich man who fares sumptuously every day, and, though he has Moses and the prophets, has not learned to believe; the Gentile is the beggar who seeks to feed on the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, "and no man gave unto him," the very same phrase that is

used of the prodigal. The Jew is the invited guest who accepts the invitation and then cancels his acceptance; the Gentile is called in from the highways and the hedges. The Jew is the Pharisee who thanks God that he is not as other men are; the Gentile is the repentant publican who goes home justified. The Jewish people are the fig-tree which, fruitless, still cumbers the ground; even now the Gardener of Gethsemani is praying that one more chance may be given to them. The Jewish people are the unfaithful husbandmen who are to murder the King's Son; the Gentiles are those "other husbandmen" to whom the vineyard will be given. Thus the *Ecclesia* of the New Covenant, the "faithful remnant" whom the prophets had declared to be the inheritors of God's Kingdom, is not to be a further selection within the already-selected Jewish people, like the 300 whom Gedeon selected from his already-selected 10,000. The new circle is to intersect with the old, and the calling-out will proceed according to some new, some not merely national basis of qualification.

Small wonder that our Lord should have made this point part of His secret teaching, otherwise He might well have been haled to judgment at the beginning of His ministry instead of the end; as it was His accusers could not, even at the end of it, make out a coherent case against Him. Small wonder that even in the Early Church the admission of the Gentiles to Christian privileges should have been matter of earnest discussion and slow concession; St. Paul himself speaks of it as a mystery, only latterly and only as it were grudgingly revealed. "According to grace," he says to the Ephesians, "the mystery has now been made known to me, which in other generations was not known to the

sons of men, as it is now revealed to His holy Apostles and prophets in the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and partakers of the same body, and co-partners of His promise in Christ Jesus." This then, is the first "mystery" of the Kingdom of Heaven, but our Lord tells His Apostles of the "mysteries," not merely "the mystery"—what else had they to learn?

(2) However the first hearers of the Christian preaching may have conceived beforehand of the "kingdom" which the Messiah was to institute, they clearly thought that something was going to happen quite suddenly which would revolutionize the state of mankind. Whether the chosen survivors were to be introduced all at once into a new mode of existence, or whether for a period, perhaps for a thousand years, there was to be a reign of entire peace, prosperity, and holiness on the earth, with a general Resurrection at the end of it, they must clearly have imagined that the present world dispensation was running down to its immediate dissolution. In correction of that impression, our Lord is at pains to represent the extension of His kingdom as a gradual process, in the parable of the leaven, and (giving it a more concrete form) in the parable of the mustard-seed. But there is another parable in which He deals with the question *ex professo*—that of the pounds, which He delivered "because they thought that the Kingdom of God should immediately be manifested." In this parable, the conspirators who plot against the King's life are obviously the Jews; it remains, then, that the servants, faithful and unprofitable alike, should be the chosen of the new dispensation. It is expressly said that the nobleman goes into a far country, obviously to suggest a long absence. It is the

same suggestion that is made in the parables where the householder (or whoever the hero of the parable may be) is said to sleep—the familiar idea of God leaving His servants on their probation. "And when it was now noon, Elias jested at them, saying, Cry with a louder voice, for he is a God; and perhaps he is talking, or is in an inn, or on a journey; or perhaps he is asleep, and must be awaked." "Up, Lord, why sleepest Thou?" is the familiar cry of the Jew in distress, and it was, no doubt, an acted parable when our Lord suffered Himself to sleep in the boat on the lake, when His disciples were threatened by the storm. "The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed into the earth, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up whilst he knoweth not." So, too, the bridegroom tarries in the parable of the ten virgins. What does all this mean, but that the new dispensation which is referred to as the "kingdom," is a dispensation in this world, of long continuance, during which God continues to hide Himself, as He did from His chosen people hitherto, in order to put His servants on their probation?

(3) And if they are on their probation, then it follows that the final selection is not yet accomplished; there are foolish as well as wise virgins in the kingdom. Hence the twice-repeated phrase, "many are called, but few are chosen"—the Christian equivalent of the old Pagan tag, "Many are the bearers of the thyrsus, but few the true bacchants." Many are "*cletoi*," that is, members of the "*ecclesia*," now as heretofore, but among these many "*cletoi*" only a certain proportion are actually "*eclectoi*"—in our language, predestined. The Jews cancel their acceptance of the invitation to the marriage

feast, but it is not therefore to be supposed that all who sit down at that feast are the chosen servants of God; it is possible to be one of the banqueters and yet to have no wedding-garment. Two parables quite clearly treat the same issue *ex professo*: that of the cockle among the wheat, and that of the net drawing in all manner of fishes. The field in the parable of the cockle is the world, not explicitly the kingdom; but the net is obviously the kingdom, not simply the world, and yet there are worthless fish even inside the net, which are brought to shore (that is, to judgment) with the others. Look at it which way you will, the Church, in our Lord's own forecast, is not the Church of the predestined.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of this point for our conceptions as to what the Christian religion is meant to be. For the Calvinist theory of the Church, which was the only logical alternative proposed for Catholicism at the time of the great European apostasy, was precisely that the Church in the true sense is simply the number of those souls whose names are written in heaven who will eventually be saved. That is to say, the true Church was of its very nature invisible. And the assumption of all that great mass of latitudinarian pietism which passes to-day for Christianity is in effect the same, namely, that in all religious bodies there are to be found really Christ-like, really "converted" souls, and that everyone is a member of the true Church if and in so far as he answers to that description. Which seems a very excellent and a very "spiritual" idea—only unfortunately, as we have seen, it is precisely not the idea Christ taught. The Church to which He invited the Gentiles was by its very charter a visible Church.

There must, obviously, be two theories of the Sacraments to correspond with these two theories of the Church. Those who believe in an "invisible" Church think that they are going to have it all their own way when they get to the 3rd and 6th chapters of St. John. "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God"—does that mean that a mere outward, mechanical act, the spilling of a few drops of water, seals the soul indefectibly for heaven? The idea is monstrous; we must, therefore, interpret the reference to "being born of the Holy Ghost" as implying an intelligent, voluntary acceptance of the grace offered in baptism; in other words, conversion. The man who is once really converted does really enter the Kingdom of God, no mere earthly kingdom, but an eternal inheritance. "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is My flesh for the life of the world." What a promise! "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live *by* the Father, so he that eateth Me, the same also shall live *by* Me." The sacramental presence of Christ is actually compared, in the intimacy of its union, with the circuminsession of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Could such guarantees be attached to the mere reception of an outward token by the lips of one who may be, all the time, a hardened sinner? The idea is monstrous; we must, therefore, understand that the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament is true only for those who receive with worthy dispositions, and not merely those who receive *hic et nunc* with worthy dispositions, but those who will, as a matter of fact, persevere to the attainment of everlasting life. In a word, as the Church is a spiritual Church, so the

Sacraments are spiritual Sacraments, and the material channels which are used in them are only helps to our weak human imagination.

We cannot directly counter this allegorical interpretation of a passage that cries to be taken literally from our Lord's own words, except indeed by pointing to the actual formula with which He administered the first Eucharist. For, when He uses allegory, the idea which He treats allegorically is the predicate of the sentence, not its subject; "I am the Way," "I am the Good Shepherd," "I am the true Vine." This habit of speech might cover such a phrase as "I am the living Bread," and an allegory might exhaust its meaning. But it quite certainly does not cover the phrase "This (*i.e.* that which I hold in My hands) is My Body." "This which is being poured out for you is my Blood." But if we will turn from our Lord's own words to those of that faithful disciple of His, who is often gratuitously hailed as the Apostle of Protestantism, we shall find, in a passage to which too little attention is ordinarily paid, a direct denial of the Calvinist theory of Church and Sacraments.

After a long passage (1 Corinthians, chaps. viii. and ix.) in which he has disposed of a laxist opinion in favour of eating meats offered to idols, St. Paul leaves, apparently, the argument from public scandal and devotes himself to the argument from danger of lapse into heathenism. "Know you not," he says, "that they that run in the race all run indeed, but one receiveth the prize?" This means, clearly, that there will be also-rans, that is, nominal Christians, and that the whole "field" will outnumber the Christians who will finally be saved; many are called, but few chosen. And then, at

the beginning of the next chapter, he falls to comparing the two *ecclesiae* of God, the Church of the Old Covenant and the Church of the New. "Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink; (and they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ)." He proceeds to rehearse the various backslidings which disqualified some of the Israelites for the attainment of the Promised Land, and concludes, "Wherefore, he that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall." The parallelism in all this is perfectly unmistakable. The Israelites are said to have been baptized "into Moses" just as Christians are said to be baptized "into the Name" of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. The passage of the Red Sea, with its suggestion of burial, and the pillar of fire that accompanied the host of Israel are both old symbols (as you find them in the Liturgy of Holy Saturday) of Christian baptism. It is possible, then, to be baptized into the *Ecclesia* of Christ, and yet to fall short of salvation, quite as much as it was possible to be baptized into the *Ecclesia* of Moses, and yet fail to reach Canaan. The reference to baptism is explicit; parallelism demands that the second half of the argument should be as definite a reference to the Blessed Sacrament. The "same spiritual food" is the manna, which our Lord Himself identified as the imperfect type of the Living Bread that was to come; the water that flowed from the rock does duty for a type of the Chalice, presumably an allusion to the piercing of our Lord's side at the Crucifixion. In fact, just as it was possible for many of the

Israelites to eat the manna and drink from the spring that were the pledges of God's especial care for His people, and yet fall away from Him in the desert, so there are those whose participation in the Sacrament of Unity marks them out as members of the new *Ecclesia*, whose names are nevertheless not written in heaven.

The theology of this last point is, of course, drawn out still more unmistakably by St. Paul a few chapters later, when he is discussing dispositions for the reception of the Holy Eucharist. "Whosoever shall eat this bread or drink the Chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord . . . he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, if he discern not the body of the Lord"—here we find that the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist, so far from being a mere aid to faith designed to inspire devotion in the worthy recipient, has actually such virtue in itself that it has its effects—terrible effects—upon the sacrilegious soul that profanes it.

When, therefore, it is suggested (as you may see it suggested almost any day in one or other of the newspapers) that if the Christian religion is to retain its hold over the allegiance of men in our times, we must get back to the "Christianity" of Christ or of His immediate followers, they are simply presenting the public with a mare's nest. For they mean by such language a Christianity which is not merely shorn of all definite dogma (which is beside our present purpose), but either lacking all outward organization or possessing only such outward organization as was confessedly human in its origin and conception. And this is, in effect, to revive that old dream of the mediaeval heretics, the "invisible

Church," a company of pious souls all bound for heaven, with no hierarchy except such as could be measured by degrees of personal holiness, and no Sacraments save as symbols of an interior devotion already felt. Whereas the actual "Christianity" of Christ and His immediate followers involves a Church which is to replace the old "Church" of the Jewish people, differing from it in dispensing with all tests of nationality, yet resembling it in being an organized, visible community. It includes, and administers Sacraments to, unworthy Christians to whom that adherence will be useless, that participation even actively disastrous. That is the Church of Christ which it is man's business to find. Men dispute our claim to represent the Church of St. Peter; let us ask them whether it is they or we who belong to the Church of Judas Iscariot? Whom our Lord called, although He knew that he would be lost.

For the Church is not merely the continuation, but the reflection of the Divine plan according to which God took manhood upon Himself. In the Incarnation, God could only reveal Himself in proportion as He concealed Himself, in proportion as He became like us in suffering and in obedience, only without our follies, only without our sins. So in the Catholic Church a supernatural reality is manifested to us in human guise, marred to outward view by the imperfections of all her members, and stained by their crimes. The Church perfected in heaven is the jewel God stooped to covet, but to purchase it He must buy the whole field in which it is buried, and the treasure must lie hid until the purchase is completed. We do not know why God values the outward and the earthly as well as the inward and spiritual; we only know that He does so, because He

created us in His Image, because in our image He redeemed us. We should not have designed such a Church as His? Perhaps not, but then, should we have designed such a world as His? The Church, if she is His, must bear the *pinxit* of the Creator in her very imperfections.

VI.

ST. JEROME THE INTERPRETER.

By the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Canon BARRY, D.D.

How far the supernatural influence which, after St. Paul, we term "Inspiration" (2 Tim. iii. 16), defines not only the message but the concrete shape and speech of Holy Writ, has long been a question in the Schools. I am not proposing to argue that question. But, as was to be anticipated, the Keepers of the Deposit have at all times agreed with popular feeling, which required that the "form of sound words," handed down from a venerated past, should not suffer alteration. On the other side, a sacred language is ever tending to become a dead language by mere lapse of time and change of culture; the problem therefore must arise how to deal with Scripture as a portion of the Liturgy and as a decisive authority in teaching. Shall it be strictly confined to the original form in which it was given, intelligible only to scholars, or shall it be rendered into the prevailing dialect? Moreover, since Judaism made proselytes and the Gospel is to be preached among all nations, did not the Gentiles need a version out of the Hebrew and Aramaic, while in the Latin world even Hellenistic Greek was never generally understood, and the Barbarians who came down upon the Roman Empire brought their own languages with them?

This enquiry seems to have entered on the historical phase, one episode of which is the occasion why we meet to-day, comparatively soon after Alexander's conquests had opened Egypt and Asia to Greek ideas, say between 300 and 100 B.C. The centres of the "new learning" were at Antioch and Alexandria; but its importance for us lies in a single word, the "Septuagint." It was a translation, first of the Pentateuch, then of all the Old Hebrew Testament, made by Jews for Jews, completed before the Christian era in the Common Dialect, and showing imperfect, very unclassical acquaintance with Greek. It took certain liberties in rendering the original, toned down its bold anthropomorphism, and created almost a new language. That it was held to be inspired, was quoted by the New Testament writers as Scripture, and all but invariably by St. Paul, explains why so many of the Fathers, St. Augustine among them, revered it as equal to the divine original. Nevertheless, it is a compilation due to unknown authors, by no means uniform in merit, although precious beyond any other version in virtue of its antiquity. We might even term it in substance the Old Testament of the Catholic Church.

Next in age to the Septuagint among versions come the Old Syriac and the Old Latin, belonging to the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Tertullian refers to a Latin version (Adv. Prax. 5; Adv. Marc. 5), and St. Cyprian quotes from it constantly; it is still recoverable for the whole of the New Testament; in a somewhat modified form (the Gallican) as regards the Psalter; in fragments of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Job, and Esther; and in the Deutero-canonical books or portions transferred to our actual Vulgate. We have been accustomed to speak of it as the Vetus Itala,

following a possibly corrupt reading in St. Augustine (De Doctr. Christ. ii. 15). Was it of purely African origin? The authors we do not know; a number of partial versions may well have existed. In any case, the Old Latin had affinities not with literature but with the so-called "rustic language"; it gave a word-for-word and often barbarous rendering of the Seventy; and in the fourth century was corrupted by popular usage.

Coming now to St. Jerome, whose work was undertaken at command of Pope Damasus (died 384) , we may sum up his immense achievements on the Bible-text as follows: Between 382 and 391 he revised the Latin version of the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles; of the Psalms and Job according to the Seventy; and made a second revision of the Psalter in accordance with Origen's "Hexapla." Whether he translated the whole of the Septuagint is disputed, and it remains improbable. His oft-repeated emphatic phrase, the "Hebraica veritas," gives us to understand that he no longer believed in the inspiration of the Septuagint. Does anyone hold it now? From about 390 until 404-5 he was mainly absorbed in rendering the Hebrew Old Testament directly into Latin, not omitting the Psalms; but he also revised what had been previously left untouched by him of the New Testament. The Psalms from the Hebrew we possess; they have never been taken into the Liturgy. The books of the Second Canon he scarcely handled, except by a hasty version of Tobias and Judith from the Aramaic.

I have recited like a herald names and dates in a dry catalogue which, nevertheless, represents an enterprise, carried through from first to last by one man during a

quarter of a century, which for its vastness and never-ending consequences it would be hard to parallel, impossible perhaps to surpass, in all literature. Origen's labours may have been still more extensive; but even as regards Holy Scripture they did not bear fruit like Jerome's, and at this day we find rather a memory than a monument of the "Adamantine" among Christian teachers. St. Jerome's colossal undertaking was at once creative and organic; it gave to Western Christendom the permanent reading of that Revelation in which those nations believed, and it guided them on by moulding their religious language towards the type of civilised order thus delineated. When Jerome began his task, by order of the Holy See, what he found was confusion, "as many manuscripts, so many texts"; infinite variations and a barbarous Latin, unworthy of the sublime original. By the time of St. Gregory the Great his better version had won its place and was the acknowledged standard; then it became the Vulgate (first so called, perhaps, by Roger Bacon), the common text, and the Old Latin shrank into a curiosity of literature except where preserved by Church usage as in the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. For about a thousand years the Bible to Western Christians signified the Latin of a Dalmatian scholar and monk who, partly while serving the Pope in Rome, but chiefly as a recluse in his monastery at Bethlehem, and working almost alone, had translated much of the Scriptures again and again, mastered the whole, discovered a style of language beautifully fitting it, and bestowed on us the supreme literary production of the Roman Church. I hail St. Jerome, therefore, as the Great Interpreter. We might even say the "dragoman," for he was required to cast a library

of Oriental volumes, Semitic in thought and imagery no less than by their language, which bore no relation to Latin or Greek, into a form congenial at once to the declining Roman world and the advancing Barbarians, whose children would receive baptism. Latin itself was to be baptized by a miracle of conversion, and at the same time this old and new idiom was in such a manner to be handled that it would easily survive when the Imperial speech of Rome broke up into the Romance dialects to which it gave place. From Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek to Latin; but this Latin again, not the rhetorical involutions of Cicero, nor Livy's pictured page, neither Horatian nor Virgilian, but simple, elevated, moving like the primitive style which it sought to reproduce; and, yet once more, capable of being domestic, familiar in their mouths as household words, among tribes that were not of Italian, still less of Jewish pedigree—such was the amazing problem in fact offered to St. Jerome for solution by Pope Damasus. Let me quote Dean Milman's graceful tribute to his success in dealing with it.

"This was his great and indefeasible title to the appellation of a Father of the Latin Church. Whatever it may owe to the older and fragmentary versions, Jerome's Bible is a wonderful work, still more as achieved by one man, and that a Western Christian. It almost created a new language. The inflexible Latin became pliant and expansive, naturalising foreign Eastern imagery, Eastern modes of expression and thought, and Eastern religious notions, most uncongenial to its genius and character, and yet retaining much of its own peculiar strength, solidity, and majesty. . . .

> "The Vulgate was even more, perhaps, than the Papal power the foundation of Latin Christianity." (Milman, L.C., I. 95.)

It is, at any rate, certain that St. Jerome's version of Holy Scripture did become the religious code of the West; setting it free in this respect from dependence on Greek authorities. It contributed powerfully to make Latin the language of the Church and to keep it so. It inspired the boundless medieval Christian literature, from the sacred offices contained in Pontifical, Sacramentary, and Breviary, to the innumerable volumes of devotions and private prayers, while the philosophy and theology which together form what is known as the scholastic system borrowed terms and quotations from it without ceasing. Thus it served to express the visible rites, the active intelligence, and the union of the spirit to which Rome gave a living centre. One faith, one Church, one Bible—a triple cord which was not easily broken.

Well, then, might the English translators of 1611 acknowledge of St. Jerome how he had executed his task, "with that evidence of great learning, judgment, industry, and faithfulness, that he hath for ever bound the Church unto him in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness." More, however, must be added to this commendation. In presenting future ages with an authentic Bible, the Saint was obeying the Pope, and keeping the injunction before him, "No Scripture is of any private interpretation." Hear a very late modern on this subject—I mean John Ruskin: "Partly as a scholar's exercise, partly as an old man's recreation," he says in his peculiar way, "the severity of the Latin language was softened, like Venetian crystal, by the variable fire of Hebrew thought; and the Book of Books

took the abiding form of which all the future art of the Western nations was to be an hourly enlarging interpretation. And in this matter," he maintains, "you have to note that the gist of it lies, not in the translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures into an easier and a common language, but in their presentation to the Church as of common authority." He concludes: "When Jerome died at Bethlehem, this great deed was virtually accomplished; and the series of historic and didactic books which form our present Bible (including the Apocrypha) were established in and above the nascent thought of the noblest races of men, as a direct message to them from [their] Maker." In an earlier passage Ruskin had observed: "It is a singular question how far if Jerome at the very moment when Rome, his tutress, ceased from her material power, had not made her language the oracle of Hebrew prophecy, a literature of their own, and a religion unshadowed by the terrors of the Mosaic law, might not have developed itself in the hearts of the Goth, the Frank, and the Saxon, under Theodoric, Clovis, and Alfred." (*Bible of Amiens*, in Works, Vol. 33, 109, 110.)

Providence had chosen to shape the future by guiding the Holy See when it established the Canon of Scripture on lines of tradition against the pseudo-Bible of the Gnostics; even as, in the second century, the Episcopate became the bulwark of dogma threatened on all sides by the same ubiquitous Illuminism. What happy gift, we may enquire, was bestowed on St. Jerome, so that in the moment of danger and decision his enthusiastic long-continued studies in every line of literature should have qualified him for this particular task? His reading, as St. Augustine knew, was universal, his memory a portent,

his faculty of working without a break incredible, and his temper only whetted by opposition. These were notable advantages. But another was probably one which he shared with men like the Senecas, or Martial, or Prudentius, namely, that he was not strictly speaking a Roman. Born at Stridon, a place where Dalmatia bordered on Pannonia, he manifested the sort of provincial independence which has been remarked in the Spaniards I have just enumerated, and in African writers, such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine. He studied under the memorable Donatus, and dreamt that he was a Ciceronian; but happily the accusation was a dream. St. Jerome's own Latin is admittedly pure, idiomatic, and correct in grammar as copious in vocabulary. He was an accomplished man of letters, a somewhat florid rhetorician, but no philosopher, little given to poetry, and in disputation highly impetuous. He loved facts and details, geographical, historical, personal. Not being a metaphysician, he moved among the subtle Eastern dialecticians rather at random, but kept his eye on Rome. The abundant commentaries on Scripture, which fill volume after volume of Vallarsi's edition, quote current opinions and have the merits of an Encyclopædia, not the meditative or mystic reflection familiar to St. Augustine. Hence, St. Jerome has been reckoned with St. John Chrysostom and the School of Antioch, which dwelt much on the letter of the Bible, despite a passing and evanescent adhesion to some of Origen's views, on the incidents of which it is not now the time to enlarge. We may define him as a late Latin "grammarian," a Bible scholar and critic of the literal type, and a translator on definite though more or less unrecognised principles. He did for the Hebrew

Scriptures in Latin a service in many ways resembling that which Cicero did for Greek philosophy in his Tusculan volumes and other speculative treatises. But in method there is no proper likeness between Cicero and Jerome.

What is translation? It has been called a literary device by which unequals are represented as equals; for, except in strictly measuring science with its exact symbols, no two languages can be reduced to an identity, and the less they belong to the same group so much greater will be the difference. Something, then, must be sacrificed in the attempt. Robert Browning would require of a translator, "to be literal at every cost save that of absolute violence to our language," were it a question of giving in English a work immensely famous like the "Agamemnon." Cardinal Newman says, "In a book intended for general reading, faithfulness may be considered simply to consist in expressing the sense of the original." The Septuagint, dealing with a sacred text, aimed at accuracy by the closest adherence to the words in their order, doing violence to such Greek as the translators knew. And this was the rule observed lifiewise in the Old Latin, which now enables us to recover no small portion of the Greek New Testament as their text gave it. Scholars who yearn after primitive readings naturally favour this transliteration, as I am tempted to style it; but from a literary point of view it would seem to defeat its main purpose, by leaving the matter itself strange and uncouth. Browning's transcript of the "Agamemnon" fails to win us, certainly does not charm, and remains a mere curiosity. Had St. Jerome "transcribed" the Scriptures on a method so repulsive, their fortunes in the West would have been very different.

His general aim in translating was to give the meaning as well as he knew how, "non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu" (Epp. ad Pammachium, ad Suniam). Careful scrutiny of the most authentic Vulgate readings, made in comparison with what we may suppose to have been the Hebrew text before him, tends to confirm this opinion, which we can also verify in any particular section by simple expedients. Of course the translation varies in quality; I have always greatly admired the historical Books, the Prophets, and the Book of Job; and am glad that so competent an authority as Kaulen confirms my predilection (*vide* also J. A. Symonds' *Essays*). Jerome was proud with good reason of his Samuel and Kings. It must be granted I think, that he added emphasis to some Messianic allusions; occasionally his Latin compresses, it rarely expands the Hebrew; and he avails himself now and then of other Greek versions besides the Seventy, as Aquila, Symmachus, &c.

But I hasten to his great, his crowning merit. I remarked that he differs from Cicero when turning his original into Latin; and this he does by permitting the Hebrew, so far as possible, to control the structure of his composition, whereas the Roman orator keeps to the native period, or at least subdues to it the Greek authors whom he was importing. More clearly still, the vocabulary—the *lexis*, of Jerome is Latin undefiled; the syntactical order and construction are simplified to the utmost, that so they may match or reproduce the Hebrew. This was a miraculous stroke, with infinite happy consequences. The classic style no more; but one which had a wealth of Christian associations; which the Church could claim as her own; which would

dominate and inspire the new-springing languages of the West; which, finally, would consecrate on our altar old Roman terms, purged of their Pagan memories, or, as I have said, baptized in the sacred stream of Jordan. That many of such terms had been already adopted is, of course, true; but in the Bible now they were stereotyped, made indelible, and so full of strength to recover, that when cast out of the English Bible by Tyndale they came back under Coverdale and keep their place in it to this day. It is impossible to exaggerate the spiritual and literary importance of a standard thus created, set up for a thousand years in sight of the nations, and ruling their heart, their fancy, their conduct as on an identical pattern. They would have been exceedingly slow to assimilate the artificial verse and prose of Rome's Augustan age; but the Hebrew stories, songs, and prophecies, given to them in a simple moving rhythm, could not fail to become their dearest treasure. The Middle Ages are like a vast Museum, picture-gallery, and sounding-board of the Bible—St. Jerome's Bible, from which it might seem all their art and wide realms of their poetry and romance were derived. Yet, a curious observation must not be passed over. If by his version of the Scriptures holding a supreme rank among books, this rude Istrian from the Danube had, as it were, dethroned the literary Senate of Rome, he provided a shelter in which they might take refuge, thanks to the monastery with its scriptorium where his own work was unceasingly copied. Hallam has observed, and a recent author echoes the statement, that "unless this Church [the Roman] had thrown a halo of sanctity over the Latin tongue by retaining it as the language of her Bible and her worship, as well as the

channel of her diplomatic intercourse, her ecclesiastical education, and her religious study, the fate of classical learning must inevitably have been sealed." (*Middle Ages*, III., 335 *seq.*; Hoare, *Our English Bible*, 15.)

A time arrived, haughtily declaring itself to be the Revival of Letters, when those very classics which the devotion of Christians to their Bible had, *ex abundanti*, preserved, were made an occasion and an instrument to dethrone baptized Latin for the sake of Horatian Sapphics and Alcaics, and in favour of Ciceronianising our prayers, hymns, and lections of the Breviary. The effect we can judge without my dwelling upon it. Only this I am prepared to maintain, that in comparison with Patristic and Medieval Latin, of which the Vulgate is chief, with saintly writings such as those which extend from Cyprian and Augustine to Bernard and Aquinas, culminating in the Imitation, modern Latin works, be their subject never so religious, seem like shadows compared to sunlit and living realities. There is a glory of the Church in her language that she did not borrow from the Renaissance, and that no *pastiche* derived from the *Gradus ad Parnassum* will adequately reflect. On this most urgent, in some aspects most melancholy subject, I am happy to believe that the restoration of the genuine Vulgate text will have a powerful and good effect.

It would now be in order to enlarge the horizon by considering how the Latin Bible gave rise to partial versions founded on it, during the centuries in which neither Greek not Hebrew was matter of learning in the West. For many ages they were not wanted, since the only readers were clerics and cloistered nuns, acquainted with ecclesiastical Latin. But in due time

they began to appear,—portions, I mean, like the Psalter, the Gospels, and some histories from the Old Testament. I have given a copious list in the preface to my *Tradition of Scripture*, beginning with St. Aldhelm and King Alfred, coming down to the year 1520. It may be said almost to cover Western and Northern Europe. In the second half of the thirteenth century a small group of scholars, among them Roger Bacon the Franciscan, projected a translation direct from the Hebrew. By that time undoubtedly St. Jerome's text had been spread in countless manuscripts, and was liable to extensive corruption. Then came the printing-press, and among its very first books was the Latin Bible in 1456, which we call the Mazarin; no fewer than ninety-eight complete editions were published before the year 1500. The first German Bible, founded on St. Jerome, came out in print not later than 1466. Fourteen translations of the Vulgate into German, five into Low Dutch, are known to have existed before Luther undertook his self-appointed task. From a collation of these with his Bible it is evident that he consulted previous recensions, and that his work was not entirely original. (*Cambridge Modern Hist.*, I. 639.)

Luther's Bible opens a fresh era, no less decidedly than did St. Jerome's eleven hundred years before. Two roads divide, the Catholic leading up to the Council of Trent and onward to the Sixtine and Clementine recensions, approved by their respective Pontiffs; and the Protestant, which has developed into a number of Bible Societies, scattering millions of copies in hundreds of languages all over the world. On this consummation I have only the briefest concluding remarks to offer. Although non-Catholic translations profess to come

direct from the original tongues, the influence of the Vulgate may still be traced in them. Especially may we follow it through the long and complicated series of English versions down even to the last Revision. Wycliffe, as is well known, had recourse only to the Latin; if it be held that his choice of a particular dialect determined the subsequent translators to imitate him, consider how much this implies. When I say Wycliffe, I am using the name impersonally for a national movement, since we do not find evidence of the man's own share in translation. Tyndale certainly wished to make an absolute beginning; but Coverdale's version was derived from "the Dutch and the Latin," *i.e.*, the Vulgate, as he frankly admitted. And Coverdale's happy renderings have been largely preserved in subsequent Bibles, as in that of Rogers, called by him the "Matthew" Bible, in the Prayer-Book Psalms, and above all in the Authorized Version of 1611. This latter work, which has grown to be the standard text for the whole English-speaking world outside Catholicism, owed corrections and emendations of importance to the Rheims New Testament, which was as literal a version of the Latin Vulgate as its very learned authors could achieve. It follows, then, that St. Jerome, by virtue of his piety, genius, industry, and approval from the Holy See of Rome, enjoys a kind of Biblical ubiquity. No English translation is there upon which he has not left his mark. To the future as to the past he will be known as "Doctor Maximus." And if ever the Authorized Version, its errors purged away, should be reconciled to the Catholic Church, not a little of St. Jerome's work on the Bible, direct or indirect, would be discerned by exploring eyes within its pages.

VII.

THE GENESIS OF A MYTH:

A Note on the Supposed Origin of Tobit (Tobias)

By the late BISHOP OF SALFORD.

I was greatly surprised a year or two ago to read in the annual survey of publications and discoveries issued by a distinguished learned society that my late lamented friend and colleague, Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton, had solved the origin of the Book of Tobit (Tobias) by shewing that it was a translation, or rather a Jewish redaction, of a Mazdean or Zoroastrian folk-story, and that he had succeeded in restoring the original narration, which he had published in his learned and really valuable work, *Early Zoroastrianism*, being the Hibbert Lectures for 1912, published in 1913 (Williams and Norgate). The discovery was proclaimed *sans phrase*, and I have little doubt that in due course the statement will find its way into some of the popular little manuals of condensed learning to be found on our bookstalls and become a recognised scientific "fact." Now I was all the more interested in the statement of the above-mentioned annual report as I had assisted at the very birth of the hypothesis in question and followed the subsequent phases of its growth and development. At a small meeting of the Manchester Oriental Society some years ago, Prof. Moulton suggested in a very tentative way the idea that had occurred to him that the Book of Tobit

possibly was based on Persian or Magian material alleging two or three ingenious reasons which seemed to support the suggestion. I remember thinking and saying at the time that the hypothesis appeared based on at least plausible arguments, but which to me seemed rather far-fetched. When Moulton's excellent *Early Zoroastrianism* was published, the hypothesis appeared full-fledged, and occupies an important part of the volume, including a special appendix, *The Magian Material of Tobit*, an exceedingly elaborate piece of work, supported by abundant notes. Let us be quite fair. Prof. Moulton, unlike those who have run away with his reconstruction, honestly warns us that the whole structure is hypothetical. He writes:

> "The hypothetical reconstruction referred to in Lecture VII, *ad fin.* is transferred to the more modest position of an appendix, lest incautious readers should fancy either that I am giving them a scientifically restored document, or that I seek for laurels in the unfamiliar field of fiction. My story is only a vehicle for points which can be more easily exhibited in this form. I need only observe by way of preface that the names are chosen from Old Persian, mostly at random, and Avestan words translated into that dialect, on the assumption that the story was thus current. It might of course have circulated in one of the other languages used in Media. The specimens of Magian wisdom which I have put in the mouth of the old man, the hero's father, I have selected often on Pahlavi evidence alone, and I must enter a preliminary caveat against assuming that Magian teachers really used such language at the date when this tale may be supposed to have originated. I claim no more for

them than that since Parsi priests some centuries later credited them to antiquity, and they are in keeping with the system established by research, we may plausibly assume the Magian origin of these as of other elements actually found in our Jewish Book."

Nothing can be more honest than this statement; though subsequently Dr. Moulton seems to have taken up a more positive attitude, for in a later work he writes, without any reserve, of "the Median originals of Tobit and Tobias when they went forth to deal kindly by the corpses of the faithful, and took their harmless necessary dog with them."[1] The earliest tentative suggestion at the table of our Oriental Society had thus apparently become in its author's mind,—after passing through the stages of an elaborate hypothesis—simply a fact.

It is not my purpose in this note to discuss in detail Moulton's theory,—not even either to refute or support it. I am rather concerned in pointing out how a mere conjecture, a strictly hypothetical reconstruction, is gradually getting accepted as one of the proven facts of science. It is a legend, or if you like a myth, at whose birth we have assisted.

Before concluding, however, there are one or two remarks I would like to make concerning some of Dr. Moulton's arguments.

(1) The name of the demon Asmodeus naturally stands in the front rank. Christian exegetes were long ago puzzled when it was stated that here we have clearly the name of a Zoroastrian demon, *Aēshmo-daēva, the

[1] *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford University Press, 1917, p. 153.

demon of wrath, and efforts were made to substitute a purely Semitic etymology, such as *Ashmedai* from a verb *shamad*, to destroy, and it was urged that the supposed Avestan form never occurs. As far back as 1884, however, I was able to shew that such a form did really exist. In the important Pehlevi work *Bûndehesh* (xxviii. 15) is found the name of a demon written Aeshmshēdā, which, according to the now generally accepted reading of these supposed Semitic ideograms, would have been pronounced *Aeshmdēv, strictly corresponding to an Avestan *Aēshmo-daēva and therefore to Asmodeus.[1] But not much importance can be attached to this fact: even in the New Testament the name of a heathen deity, Beelzebub, is applied to the prince of devils!

(2) The names Tobit, Tobias, seem greatly to have impressed Dr. Moulton as containing the Semitic element *tôb* = good, whilst in the Behistan cuneiform inscription there are two old Persian names Vahauka and Vahyazdāta, though not of father and son, containing the element *vahu* = good. He proceeds to "translate" the Hebrew names straightway into the above Persian ones!

(3) A very leading feature in Prof. Moulton's story is the part he assigns to Tobias' dog, which he would bring into connexion with the Parsi *sag-dîd*, or "dog's glance," so efficacious a protection at the moment of death. In a footnote, however, he loyally quotes the objection raised by himself to this argument, as follows:—

> "As a serious offset against the approval of the editor of *Tobit* in the Oxford Apocrypha, published

[1] *Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme*, Louvain, 1884, p. 84.

while this book was passing through the press, I have to record Bishop Casartelli's dissent, in an interesting letter to me (June 6, 1913). I cite the main part in full :—

" 'The book strikes me rather as being of purely Jewish origin, but certainly written in a Mazdean [Magian you would say] *milieu*, and directly pointed against prevailing Mazdean ideas and practices as found all round. Hence the insistence on earth-burial as even a sacred work, directed against the ideas of *nasus*, corpse-pollution, etc. The very dog seems brought in as the purely domestic house dog —the "harmless, necessary" dog—stripped of all superstitious ideas of the *Sag-dīd*. The old father is blinded by a swallow's dung, *i.e.*, probably by a bird belonging to Ahura Mazda's realm: physical evil therefore is not merely a creature of Angro-Mainyus; and so on. I think this theme could be plausibly worked out.'

"In a further letter (June 13) he adds: 'I did not mean to suggest any very overt "polemic" in *Tobit*. It might have been all the more telling if merely applied in the redaction of the book, apart altogether from the question of its origin.' "

So far Dr. Moulton.

I do not intend to go through all his arguments, but only mention the above three as among at least the most plausible. But when all has been said, his "reconstruction" of the "Median folk-story" remains a purely hypothetical piece of very clever work, strictly a romance like *Quo Vadis* or *Ben Hur*.

I hope it will not be considered out of place to express

appreciation of the solid erudition and transparent honesty of one who had just risen to the rank of a foremost Avestan scholar, when he was so tragically and prematurely carried off, a victim of "German" or rather Austrian "frightfulness," on 7th April, 1917. May I be permitted as a personal friend to conclude[1]:

Quis desiderii modus . . . tam cari capitis ?

VIII.

APPENDIX.

Dr. Coulton and the Heavenly Witnesses.

By the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J., M.A.

In his pamphlet, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible* (pp. 18-19 in both editions) Dr. Coulton writes as follows:

> The text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, for instance (1 John v. 7), which disappeared forty years ago from the Anglican Revised Version, not only remains still in the Vulgate, but a special Papal decree of 1897 has explicitly forbidden the faithful to "deny or call into doubt" the authenticity of this interpolation, which no theologian outside the Roman communion would dare to defend as genuine. For years, therefore Roman Catholic Bible-study has been in this impossible situation. Every Roman Catholic theologian with an elementary knowledge of textual criticism is aware . . . [there follows a summary of the textual evidence]. . . . Yet if, while this decree stands still unrevoked[1], a Roman Catholic Professor of theology should publicly draw from these universally-acknowledged facts the common-sense conclusion which everybody else has drawn, and if he had the courage to stand by his own words, he would be cut off from his Professorship and from the communion of his Church.
>
> But this absurdity, on the face of it almost incredible, has behind it a very sufficient reason from the point of view of ecclesiastical discipline. In the great ecumenical Council of 1215 (4th Lateran), Innocent III. incautiously argued from this spurious text in his condemnation of Abbot Joachim's doctrine of the Trinity; and everybody who joins the Roman Catholic Church has to subscribe to the Creed of Pope Pius IV., which binds him to "receive unhesitatingly all things handed down, defined and decreed" by this Lateran Council among others. It is therefore almost as difficult for the Church to admit the results of scholarly research in the case of the Three Witnesses as in that similar case of Gen. iii. 15. . . .

[1] In a note to the second edition this is corrected to "while this decree has any living force."

It will be observed that in this second paragraph there is no longer question, as in the first paragraph, merely of an obedient silence, but of what is involved in a positive profession of faith, and the conclusion is inevitable—though I have since been given reason to doubt whether Dr. Coulton really meant to draw it—that "every Roman Catholic theologian" professes belief in what he knows to be untrue. Surely this is enough to explain "the concentration of all my critics on this particular point" (ed. 2, p. 44), so far as there was such concentration, without regarding it as a mere matter of strategy! Judging, after some private discussion with others, that the matter had not been sufficiently cleared up, and chiefly with an eye to our own Catholics, I determined to prefix some further remarks upon the subject to my own lecture upon the Prophets. Dr. Coulton had disappeared from the Congress at an early stage, being pressed to finish up some necessary work, as he explained to me, before going on his holiday. In his second edition Dr. Coulton reprints my remarks from the *Tablet*; I reproduce them here from my original manuscript, but the differences are absolutely insignificant:

> Before coming to the proper subject of my paper, the prophets, I may perhaps be allowed to offer a few remarks on the subject of the passage in the New Testament often called the passage concerning the Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7), which was brought up in a pamphlet published in Cambridge a little before the Congress, and has also come up for discussion during the Congress itself. I desire to make four points clear:
>
> (1) I think I may safely say that hardly any scholar, Catholic or otherwise, would nowadays deny that the passage is an interpolation in the text, that it was not present either in the original Greek text of the New Testament, or in St. Jerome's original translation.
>
> (2) In spite of an assertion to the contrary, I also regard it as clear that Pope Innocent III. in no way commits himself to

the text, but only brings it in where he is quoting the Abbot Joachim, who used the passage. The Pope's own definition does not come till later.

(3) The Council of Trent declared the Vulgate *authentic*, that is, official. It is clear from contemporary documents that this was not done because the Vulgate was considered faultless, but, among other reasons, because it was considered safe. The decree of the Holy Office that has been often alluded to (*Acta Sanctae Sedis*, Vol. 29, p. 637) declared the passage of the Heavenly Witnesses *authentic* in the same sense; that is, it was part of the then official Vulgate, and such it was to remain. This interpretation was confirmed to Cardinal Vaughan, to whom it was explained that textual criticism as such was not touched. (*Revue Biblique*, Vol. vii., 1898, p. 149.)

(4) Finally, it has been said that Catholic professors, knowing the passage not to be genuine, dare not manifest their knowledge publicly, for fear of being turned out of the Church. To this it is a sufficient answer to indicate two works, published with a Catholic *imprimatur*: (1) *Das Comma Joanneum* by Dr. Künstle, published some years ago by Herder, wherein the author argues well for the view that the passage of the Heavenly Witnesses has for its author Priscillian—not therefore St. John or St. Jerome. (2) Dr. Vogels' edition of the New Testament in Greek, published last year by Schwann of Düsseldorf, wherein the passage does not appear in the text at all, but only among the rejected variants at the foot of the page.

I hope, therefore, that I have made it clear that Catholic scholars may and do treat the passage as an interpolation, and that the accusation of dishonesty made against them is without foundation.

The argument from the two printed books—others might be mentioned—is so decisive as practically to dispose of the whole matter; and indeed Dr. Coulton appears to realize its force, but none the less devotes nine pages of close print to covering his retreat, with M. Loisy and his career for smoke-screen. Two points, however, he urges in a way that calls for some further comment:

(1) Dr. Coulton writes in his main text, "Innocent III. incautiously argued from this spurious text" (p. 18), following in this a mistake of Prof. Pohle in a Catholic work, Herder's *Realencyclopädie* (ed. 2, p. 45). In reply

I point out that Pope Innocent III. is merely quoting the Abbot Joachim, whom he is condemning. Dr. Coulton now writes (p. 46) that the Pope "showed no hesitation about accepting the verse as a sound *basis of argument.*" As a matter of fact there is no sign as to what the Pope thought about the verse as a "basis of argument," and my own assertion remains true, that "Pope Innocent III. in no way commits himself to the text."

(2) Dr. Coulton finds my explanation of the word *authentic* as meaning *official*, "a most extraordinary perversion of a plain word. . . . Father Lattey may safely be defied, I think, to produce any authority for using the word *authentic* in this sense, until the days when modern apologists first thought of escaping through this misinterpretation from an otherwise untenable position" (p. 46). And yet it was to "contemporary documents" that I appealed, and indeed I indicated the main document to Dr. Coulton at the Congress, though only cursorily, pointing out to him my appendix on *The Vulgate reading in* 1 *Corinthians xv.* 51, in the Westminster Version, and the reference in the footnote to Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. vi., cap. xvii. "When the Fathers of Trent," I have written in that appendix, "made the Vulgate the official version of the Church by declaring it *authentic*, they by no means intended to guarantee all its readings; on the contrary, difficulties were raised in Rome on this head, and to secure the Pope's approbation of the decree the legates at the Council had first to explain that the Vulgate was adopted as the official version, not because it had no mistaken readings, but because it had never been convicted of heresy." The relevant passage in

the letter is given by Pallavicino. Vega also, one of the theologians at the Council, in his work *De Iustificatione* (Book xv., chap. 9) mentions that one of the legates at Trent, Cardinal Cervini, told him several times that the Fathers adopted the Vulgate, not because it was free from wrong readings, but because it was safe.

In the light of all this it is clear in what sense the deputies for abuses at Trent recommended that only one edition of Scripture should be allowed as *authentic* (*Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Societas Goerresiana: Tomus v., p. 29; and see *Vulgata editio* in index), and in what sense the decree of the Council itself should be understood. Even in the preface to the Clementine Vulgate, itself referred to by Dr. Coulton, it is plainly implied that the edition is not perfect textually; it is said, for example, that the object proposed was to restore the Vulgate text, not to correct it. The fact is, Dr. Coulton has not realized what a big thing it was to make the Vulgate the official text, and what important results that measure still has even today. He speaks as though it were a matter of no consequence at all, just as it suits him to speak slightingly of the *Revue Biblique*; in dealing with these matters he is a little out of his element.

Nevertheless, since the title of his pamphlet is *The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible*, I regret that he should not have done the Church the justice to admit that she has been practically alone in this country in steadily defending the divine truth of the Bible as the written word of God. From abusing her for not making enough of the Holy Scriptures, Protestants have passed and are passing to abusing her for making too much of them. After pinning their faith to the Bible and the

Bible alone, in a manner entirely contrary to the teaching of the Bible itself, they have come and are coming to treat it with no more respect (if not indeed with less) than they would a merely human document. Meanwhile the Catholic Church holds fast to the golden mean, following therein the teaching of Scripture itself. To ignore such tremendous facts as these, while raising a multitude of relatively minor issues, is surely to come near to straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A few books are here recommended for further reading, after which the student is likely to need bibliographies of a more technical kind for special departments. Mere commentaries are omitted.

(1) The works of the late Dr. Gigot (Benziger), covering the whole Bible, and of the late Abbé Fouard (English translations, Longmans) upon the New Testament.

(2) Various articles in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, and in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique* (Beauchesne, Paris: in progress).

(3) General Introductions: Bainvel, *De Scriptura Sacra* (Beauchesne): Pesch, *De Inspiratione S. Scripturae* (Herder): Lattey, *First Notions of Holy Writ* (Longmans).

(4) General and Special Introductions: Pope, *The Catholic Student's Aids* (Burns, Oates and Washbourne): Barry, *The Tradition of Scripture* (Longmans).

(5) Translations from the original Greek and Hebrew: *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures* (Longmans: in progress); the *Crampon* Bible, in French (Desclée, Paris).

(6) Special parts of the Bible: Hetzenauer, *Commentarius in Librum Genesis* (Styria Company, Vienna: contains much general matter of importance): Lattey (ed.), *Moses and the Law* (Griffiths, 26, East Street, Baker Street, London); Arendzen, *The Gospels* (Catholic Missionary Society); Prat, *La Théologie de S. Paul* (Beauchesne); Martindale, *The Greek Testament* (C.T.S.).

(7) St. Jerome: Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme, sa vie et son œuvre* (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Louvain*); Ficarra, *Florilegium Hieronymianum* (Società Editrice Internazionale, Turin); *Miscellanea Geronimiana, Scritti varii publicati nel XV. centenario dalla morte di San Girolamo, con introduzione di S.E. il Card. Vincenzo Vannutelli* (Vatican Press, Rome).

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